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ANNUAL REPORT

1908-9.

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CONSERVATION.

IN this branch of archæological activity the Muhammadan buildings play a prominent part, more particularly the palaces of the Mughals in the great centres Delhi, Agra and Lahore. On the introduction of British rule these buildings could no longer serve their original purpose—the accommodation of a royal court But as the palaces of the Great Mughals had at the same time the character of citadels, they were naturally selected to accommodate the British garrisons in the ancient Indian capitals. Consequently in every case the less important portions had to be demolished, whereas the chief edifices were put to some practical use and thus preserved.

It has of late years been one of the aims of the Archæological Department to reclaim and preserve these Mughal palace buildings. Restoration to their pristine state is, of course, out of the question. It would serve no useful end to rebuild those parts which have been demolished. Besides, as long as these forts are used for the accommodation of troops, their present purpose and the interests of their present occupants cannot be disregarded.

At Delhi all buildings once utilized by the garrison have now been vacated and a commencement has been made to fence off the archæological area from the grounds occupied by modern barracks. The archæological area comprises all ancient buildings, including the Shāh Burj, the Naqār Khāna and the Mumtāz Maḥall, and also the site of one of the main palace gardens named Hayāt Bakhsh or Life-giver. The work of resuscitating this garden is slowly but steadily progressing. The paving of the main causeways was completed early in the year. But before the planting of trees and shrubs could be commenced, it appeared necessary to lower the level of the garden.

It was not until December that this work was taken in hand, and at the close of the official year at least one-third of the area of the Hayāt Bakhsh had still to be cleared of its surface earth. In the restoration of the minor causeways also there was considerable delay, so that by the end of the year only half of the work had been completed.

The restoration of the main palace garden will add not a little to the interest of the Delhi palace, especially as the marble pavilions which belonged to it are still extant. The north-east corner is occupied by the Shāh Burj[1] or Royal Tower with

[1] *Cf.* Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (transl. Irvine), Vol. II, p. 463.

an adjoining marble hall facing the garden. This graceful little edifice was severely damaged by the earthquake of the 4th April 1905. Its repair was commenced in February 1908 and brought to a successful conclusion in June of the same year. The broken domes have been reconstructed and finials added and the pavilion is now in a sound and stable condition.

Another work in the Delhi palace deserving special mention is the erection of a marble balustrade along the river façade from the Ḥammām to the Rang Maḥall replacing the unsightly iron and wooden railings which were such an eyesore. "The advisability of attempting a restoration of the original railings and screen," Mr. Tucker writes,[1] "was considered fully but, although a certain amount of data was forthcoming for certain portions, yet this was not sufficient to ensure an accurate reproduction of the original. This, of course, prohibited any attempt at a reconstruction. The problem to be dealt with was the selection of a balustrade of sufficient height to make it effectual, in architectural accord with its surroundings, and authorized by contemporary examples in the period to which the palace belongs. All these requisites have been successfully secured and the appearance of the great terrace is much improved."

An article on the subject of the palace at Agra was contributed by Mr. Tucker to the Annual of the preceding year.[2] In the year under review the work of clearing the site of Akbar's palace has been proceeded with, and the last of the modern excrescences, the magazine built in 1813, has been demolished.

I may note here that the work of conserving the eastern false gate of Akbar's Tomb at Sikandarah has now been completed. The conservation of the Rang Maḥall at Fatehpur Sikri was also brought to an end. Unfortunately, during the rains the whole of the west wall had collapsed, but as it was only intended to rescue the building from further ruin, no attempt was made to restore the fallen façade.

In the Lahore Fort the legitimate work of rescue has come to a standstill—temporarily, it is hoped. Those buildings which remain to be dealt with are the most ancient and in many respects the most remarkable of the Lahore palace. But nothing can be done as long as they are being occupied and utilized by the Military Department.

To the three great capitals of the Mughal emperors may be added Allahabad. The early Mughal buildings in the Fort, which fully deserve to be more widely known, have for some years engaged the attention of this Department. In the year under review the so-called Zanāna building, a fine example of the architecture of Akbar's reign, has been taken in hand. The modern additions in which it was enveloped have been dismantled, and it is intended to take further measures for its conservation.

For further information regarding works of preservation carried out on Muhammadan buildings in the Northern Circle during 1908-09, I may refer to Mr. Tucker's Progress Report for that year.

[1] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1909, p. 11.*

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1907-08, pp. 8 ff.

As regards Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments in the same circle, the most important work of conservation was that carried out on the great brick temple of Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore District. As a special article on the subject is given in the present volume, I need not enter here into any details.

The only work of conservation undertaken in the Frontier Circle in the year under review was the continuation of clearance at the monastery of Takht-i-Bāhi. The damage done to the site subsequent to the carrying out of the first repairs effected had made evident the high desirability of enclosing the entire monastic precinct from wandering goatherds and other mischievous peasants. In order to render this possible without constructing an unsightly fence around the site as a whole, an attempt was made to remove the *débris* from the outer face of the main walls on the south and east, in the hope that, by setting them clear, a large portion of the monastery would be found to be self-protected. This hope, however, was in large measure disappointed, inasmuch as what had seemed to be a mere passage way between the main monastery and an apparently detached building further to the south, was found to be in reality a series of small chambers connecting the two. Whether the complete clearance of these will leave the main monastic wall of sufficient height to keep idlers from climbing over it is a point that can only be determined later, but there appears little hope that it will, and a modern fencing may prove necessary after all. In addition to this clearance on the south, considerable work was done to the south-east of the court of the many little *stūpas*, and here a number of sculptures were found in what now appear to have been originally chapels. In general, however, the excavations this year, being for the most part outside the inner precinct of the monastery, did not yield any sculptural finds. But a very fine covered stairway on the south-west was found and thoroughly cleared out, adding greatly to the interest of the site. A certain amount of work was also done toward the clearance of the passage and chambers to the west of the court of the many little *stūpas*, which have hitherto been described as underground. In the course of the year's work, however, a window was discovered in one of these supposedly subterranean walls. It, therefore, appears more than possible that these chambers were originally free-standing structures. Further clearance in this portion of the site is planned for the coming year, when it is hoped that the point may be settled, for it is obviously of very peculiar interest.

Among the numerous works of conservation carried out in the Western Circle a few deserve special notice. The restoration of the great cornice of the Gōl Gumbaz at Bijapur was completed. The Jōṛ Gumbaz at the same place still continues to be used as a residence, but it is hoped that it will ere long be vacated. The untidy collection of great guns and other objects, which for so many years littered the area before the Gagan Mahall, has been arranged as a gun trophy beneath the Museum, the ancient Hall of Kettledrums or Naqār Khāna.

The well-known cave temple on the island of Elephanta near Bombay required early attention, as during the monsoon of 1908 a large mass of rock fell from above the front of the caves. This was removed during the cold weather. The rain-water, which was responsible for this damage, percolates freely into the interior of the caves through natural fissures in the rock. As masses of the unsupported rock are liable

to fall at any moment, the work of rebuilding the missing and broken columns in the great cave has not been begun any too soon.

Mention must also be made of the fine Chalukyan temples scattered over the Dharwar and Belgaum districts, which have long needed attention to arrest further decay. During the year under review three of the best—at Degam and Gadag—were taken in hand.

The most important works of conservation in the Eastern Circle may also be briefly noticed. They relate in the first place to some of the famous monuments of Orissa, the Black Pagoda at Konārak, the temples at Bhubanēśvar and the caves at Khaṇḍagiri.

As regards the first and most important of these, the Black Pagoda, the late Dr. Bloch writes[1] :—"The main problem, which we have to face at present . . . . . is the preservation of the spire. This part of the temple has now been completely cleared of *débris*, ... and it now becomes evident that the spire of the temple never was completed, probably on account of the death of the king who built the Black Pagoda, Narasiṁha I, 1240-1280 A.D." The three chlorite images in its outside niches were all found *in situ*, but it has been found necessary to build small niches over them to preserve them. Dr. Bloch adds that the previously known epigraphical evidence for the date of this temple has been confirmed by the chlorite carvings found in the *débris*, inasmuch as one slab appears to refer to the famous Śiva at Bhubanēśvar, and two others to the temple of Jagannāth at Puri, thereby establishing the fact that, despite its architectural superiority, the Black Pagoda is of later date than the other two. The slabs referring to Jagannāth, moreover, show the image of this god between a Śiva-liṅga and Durgā, and are thus of very special interest as indicating that originally "the cult of Jagannāth at Puri was not, as it is at present, associated with the religion of the Vaishṇavas, but with that of the Śaivas." "We gather from this interesting fact," Dr. Bloch says, "that one of the most popular religions in India has been subject to a very important change, even as late as the 14th or 15th century A.D."

The temples at Bhubanēśvar and the caves at Khaṇḍagiri have now been completely conserved, but as the work is discussed by Dr. Bloch in his Annual Report for 1908-09, no detailed account of it is called for here.

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] *Annual Report, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1908-09*, p. 1[illegible].

THE TEMPLE OF BHĪTARGĀON.



A.—BRICK ARCHITECTURE.

IN his account of the Bhītargāon temple Sir Alexander Cunningham[1] remarks that in the plains of Northern India, owing to the scarcity of stone, ornamental brickwork must once have been extensively used for sacred buildings, both Brahmanical and Buddhist. "At every old site," he says, "carved and moulded bricks are found in abundance, and I have now ascertained that many of the most famous buildings in Northern India at the time of the Muhammadan invasion must have been built entirely of brick, and were decorated with terra-cotta ornaments and alto-relievos. This was certainly the case with the great temple of the Sun at Multān, with the famous shrine of Jagsoma at Thānesar, with the great Buddhist buildings at Sankisa, Kosambi and Srāvasti, and with all the Brahmanical temples of the Gupta period at Bilsar, Bhitargaon, Garhwa and Bhitari. In the more easterly provinces of Bihār and Bengal the same causes of the want and costliness of stone gave birth to the great brick temples of Bodh-Gaya and Nalanda. Even at Mathura and Benares, within a few miles of the sandstone quarries of Rupbās and Chunār, moulded and carved bricks are found in great abundance."

The brick architecture of ancient India has hitherto received scant attention. The existence of such an architecture seems to have been unknown to Fergusson.[2] The subject, however, fully deserves special treatment by an expert, not only on account of its importance, but also in view of the small number and ruinous state of the brick monuments now extant. The Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts contain a certain number of ancient brick temples, the only specimens perhaps in the United Provinces which retain their original shape and ornamentation. In the absence of a detailed study on the subject it is impossible to fix their dates with certainty, but even a superficial inspection of these temples will make it clear that they belong to widely different periods.

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[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 42.

[2] In the new edition of Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Dr. J. Burgess, the Bhītargāon temple is not even mentioned.

Earliest in date is undoubtedly the large temple of Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore district, built of large-sized bricks ($17\frac{1}{2}''$ by $10\frac{1}{2}''$ by $3''$) and decorated with well-modelled terra-cotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. Cunningham, judging from the style, is of opinion that this temple cannot be placed later than the 7th or 8th century, and is probably even older. I have reason to assume that the Bhītargāon temple is at least three centuries older than the date mentioned by Cunningham. This assumption is based on the fact that the pilasters and cornices of carved bricks, which adorn the Bhītargāon temple (Plate V), are very similar to those found on the oldest portion of the plinth, on which the Nirvāṇa temple of Kasiā is raised. This early plinth cannot be later than the Gupta epoch, and possibly goes back even to the Kushaṇa period.[1] We do not know for how long this peculiar style of carved brickwork remained in vogue, but we may safely assume that it flourished during the rule of the great Gupta emperors, *i.e.*, the 4th and 5th centuries.

All other brick temples, which I have seen in the Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts, exhibit an entirely different style. They present in general the same appearance as the ordinary Hindu temple of the *śikhara* type. Usually they consist of a single temple tower with a small porch in front and contain a square cella covered over by a double dome. Their plan is either polygonal in outline or square with recessed corners. Sometimes the polygon rests on a circular plinth. In some instances the porch is built of stone and the cella is covered over by a stone ceiling consisting of overlapping slabs and supported on four corner pilasters of the same material. This is the case with the temples of Bahuā and Tindūlī in the Fatehpur district, but in the latter instance the original stone porch has disappeared.

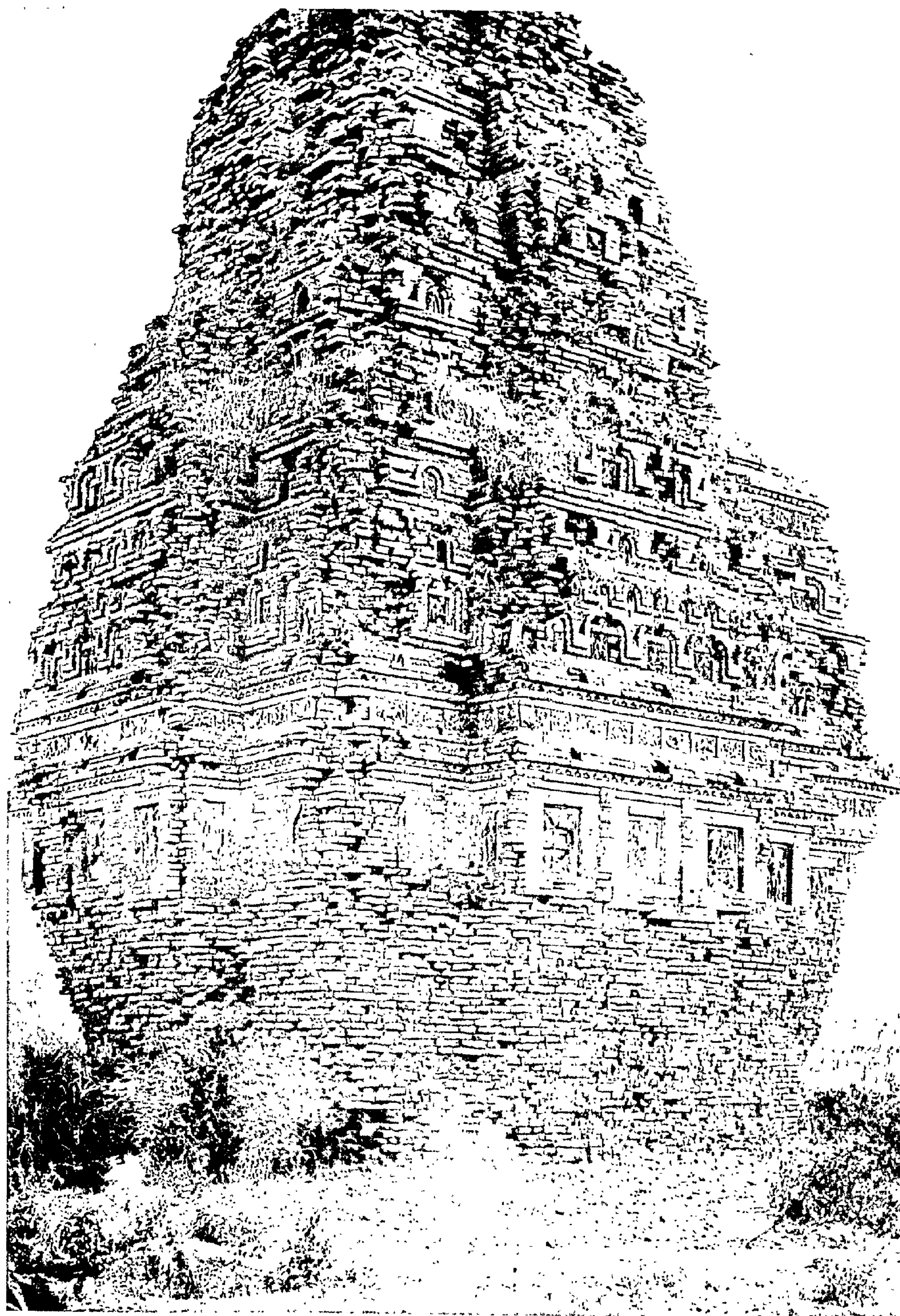
The most striking feature of most of these temples is their ornamentation of carved bricks which covers the entire surface. The type of carved bricks used in these temples is so different from that of the Gupta period, that even from a detached brick or brickbat it is easy to tell to which of the two kinds it belongs. Both the plain and the carved or moulded bricks are considerably smaller in size than those of the temple of Bhītargāon. The temple of Kurārī contains bricks of $13''$ by $8''$ by $2''$; those used in the Paraulī temple are nearly the same size. (Fig. 7.)

The latter point would suffice to show that the temples under discussion are of a considerably later date than those which we have assigned to the Gupta period. Mr. Growse attributes the Bahuā and Tindūlī temples to the 10th century of our era, and he is undoubtedly right in giving them a comparatively late date. It is, however, highly probable that the period during which decorative brickwork of this later type was in vogue extended over several centuries. It was extensively used in the Gangetic plains, not only in Brahmanical temples, but also in Buddhist sanctuaries. The temple of Buddha's Nativity on the site of the Lumbinī Garden in the Nepalese Tarai is decorated with carved brickwork of this type, and excavations at Sārnāth in 1906-07 revealed the basement of a large Buddhist monastery ornamented in the same fashion.[2]

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1904-05, p. 48.

[2] On the Sārnāth monastery *cf. A. S. R.* for 1906-07, pp. 81 ff.; plates XXIV and XXV. The average size of the bricks is stated to be $8\frac{1}{4}''$ by $7\frac{1}{4}''$ by $2''$, the maximum length being $12''$.

TEMPLE OF BHITARGAON IN 1878.



Besides the temples in the Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts to be noted beneath, I wish to mention here that near the village of Saton (four miles from Bahrāmpur) in the latter district, the ruins of a brick temple were discovered in the winter of 1906. Here, also, stone was used in part of the building. It is of particular interest that on a stone beam, which must have formed the lintel of the doorway, an inscription is found, which, on account of the character, may be assigned to the 8th or 9th century. (Fig. 1.) It thus confirms what has been remarked above with regard to the date of such temples. The inscription, together with all the carved stones, which had formed part of the Saton temple, were, at my suggestion, removed to Fatehpur by Mr. A. C. Walker, C.S., then Collector of the district. They have been added to the sculptures in the Town Hall, which were collected and described by Mr. Growse.[1]

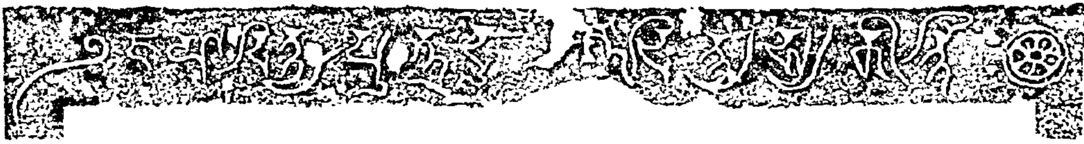


Fig. 1.

A list of the Saton remains I insert here :—

1. Door-lintel (width 2′ 10½″) with flying figure in centre and Sanskrit inscription in one line in character of the 8th or 9th century A.D. beneath. I read it :—

Ōṁ (Symbol) *Jayādittya-puttra-Durggādittyasya kīrttiḥ* (followed by wheel-symbol), meaning "The glorious work of Durgāditya, the son of Jayāditya."

2. Door lintel (width 6′ 4″) broken in two pieces (width 3′ 11″ and 2′ 5″, respectively) with row of garland-carrying flying figures, and projecting images of Sūrya, Vishṇu and Dēvī.

3—4. Two door-jambs (height 7′ 5″) belonging to the same doorway as No. 2. Below, two standing figures, presumably a river-goddess and an umbrella-bearer, and above a vertical row of amatory couples.

5. Fragment (height 2′ 8″) of door-jamb, with river-goddess Gaṅgā and row of three figures.

6. Lintel (width 3′ 1″) with figures of the planets, evidently belonging to No. 5.

7. Two stones (height 1′ 5″, width 1′ 4″) with couchant lions.

8. Image-stand (height 1′ 5″, width 3′ 10″).

It may be reasonably hoped that a proper survey and a closer study of the existing brick temples will enable us further to fix distinct types and define the period to which they belong. At present we can at least establish two main periods of brick architecture :—that of the Gupta empire exemplified by the Bhītargāon temple, and that of the 8th to 12th centuries, which may conveniently be called mediæval.

The present notes are only the outcome of a three-days' tour undertaken in December 1907 with the object of inspecting the temples and advising on the means to be adopted for their preservation. The buildings are, without exception, in a more or less advanced state of decay, and our aim must be to prevent further deterioration without detracting from their picturesque appearance. The temples in question were all built of brick laid in mud mortar. In all probability they were originally covered with a thin layer of plaster. It is obvious that, as soon as the core

[1] *Supplement to the Fatehpur Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1887, Appendix, pp. 41-43.

became exposed, a process of decay was bound to set in far more rapid than in the case of stone temples. The rain-water percolating between the joints washed the mud plaster away, and the building soon became a mere pile of loose bricks gradually crumbling to bits. To this is to be added the structural weakness of the Hindu arch and dome, used in these buildings, to which Cunningham first called attention. Not improbably this weakness was recognised by the Indian architects themselves and led them to employ stone doorways and ceilings in some of the later temples.

It would seem, however, that the very use of stone has led to the destruction of those shrines in which it was employed. For this material was bound to appeal to the cupidity of the people in a district where stone is so difficult to obtain. So much is certain that in every instance, which has come under my notice, the porch has completely fallen away, whether originally built of brick or of stone. That of the Bhītargāon temple, still extant in Cunningham's days, has now completely collapsed. In the Bahuā temple the original stone porch was restored by Mr. Growse from the ancient materials. In the case of the Ṭhiṭhaura and Tindūlī temples a brick porch has been added and thus saved the remaining portion of the building.

B.—Temple of Bhītargāon. (Plates I—V.)

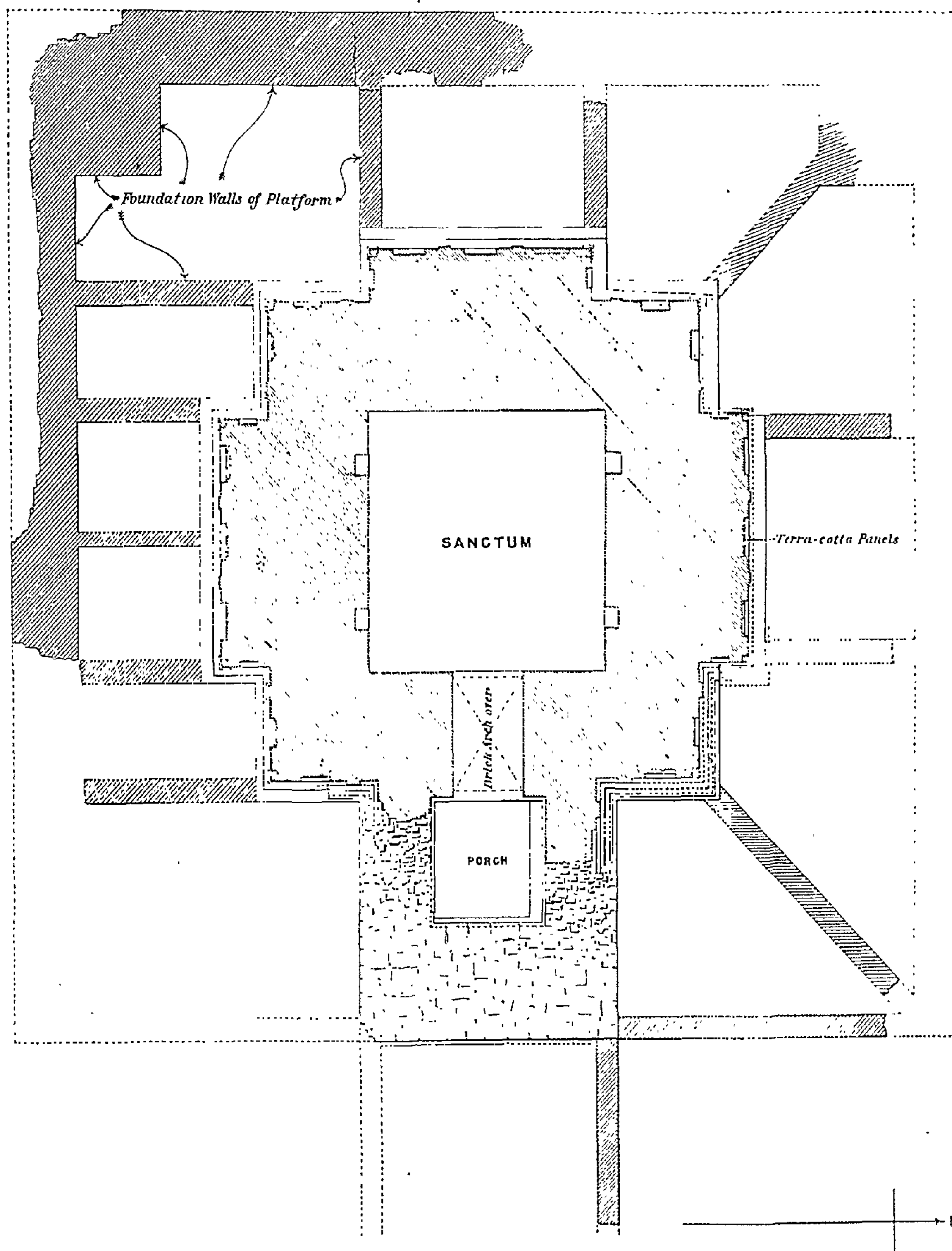
The village of Bhītargāon (or Bhitrigaon) is situated half-way between Cawnpore and Hamīrpur, 20 miles to the south of the former place, and 10 miles to the north-west of Kora-Jahānābād. The temple can be visited either from Dharampur (Canal bungalow; 18 miles from Cawnpore) or from Sarh (Canal bungalow; railway station Sarsaul). It belongs to the Narwal *taḥṣīl* of the Cawnpore district. The distance from Narwal is about 14 miles by *katcha* road, practicable by no other conveyance than a bullock-cart.

It is a matter of regret that the Bhītargāon temple is so difficult of access, though this circumstance, no doubt, accounts for its preservation. It ranks among the most important buildings of India, but is hardly known owing to its position. As pointed out above, it is the oldest brick temple existing and a unique specimen of the brick architecture of the early Gupta period. For a description, it will suffice to refer to Cunningham's account.[1] The two points especially noted by him are the occurrence of semi-circular vaults and pointed domes built in the Hindu fashion and the profuse decoration of carved brickwork and skilfully moulded terra-cotta panels.

Here I may briefly state that the temple is built on a square plan with doubly recessed corners, and contains a cella, 15′ square, and a porch or anteroom, nearly 7′ square, which are connected by a passage (Plates II and III). The two passages are roofed with semi-circular vaults, and the two rooms with pointed domes. Above the sanctum there is an upper chamber of less than half its size, which was perhaps originally covered by a vault of the same construction. Cunningham was informed that in the early fifties the spire was struck by lightning with the result that the top portion was thrown down, and the upper room became exposed to the sky. This accident has, no doubt, accelerated the process of decay.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 40 ff; plates XIV—XVII.

TEMPLE OF BHITARGAON.



GROUND PLAN.

— SCALE —
FEET 10 5 0 10 20 FEET

The outer ornamentation of terra-cotta sculpture is certainly the most striking feature of the Bhītargāon temple (Plates IV and V). The walls rise in bold mouldings, their upper portions being decorated with a row of rectangular panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. It has been noticed above that the early plinth of the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā is embellished in a very similar fashion, and that on that account there is good reason to ascribe the Bhītargāon temple to the early Gupta period. But at Kasiā the sunken panels or niches must have contained Buddha figures seated in the pose of meditation, all of which, except one, have now disappeared.

At Bhītargāon, on the contrary, the Brahmanical pantheon has supplied a great variety of subjects. Unfortunately most of these terra-cotta bas-reliefs are so sorely damaged that the subject can no longer be identified. Cunningham noticed in the centre of the back or west wall a representation of the Boar (Skr. *Varāha*) incarnation of Vishṇu, on the north side a four-armed effigy of Durgā, and on the south side a four-armed figure of Gaṇēśa. It deserves notice that the last mentioned figure is apparently shown standing (or dancing?) and not seated as is usually the case. From the occurrence of the Boar *avatāra* in the centre of the west wall, Cunningham concluded that the temple was dedicated to Vishṇu. But I may point out that in many case the outer decoration of a temple does not have any relation to the deity whose image it enshrines. An instance is afforded by the ancient temple of Viśvēśvara at Bajaurā in the Kulū Valley. The object of worship is a *liṅga*, and there is no reason to assume that this is an innovation, as *liṅga* worship appears to have been a prominent cult in the Panjāb Hills from very remote times. Yet we find the three outer niches of the Bajaurā temple occupied by image-slabs representing Gaṇēśa on the south, Vishṇu on the west, and Durgā Mahishamardinī on the north. It is worthy of note that on the Bhītargāon temple the same three deities are shown in exactly the same positions.

In the two panels on the east wall on both sides of the porch I recognize representations of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which are usually found flanking the entrance of ancient temples all over Northern India. Instances are the temple of Bajaurā in Kulū, just noted, and that in the Nūrpur Fort. In the eulogies of Baijnāth the occurrence of the two figures is especially mentioned. They are also found in the famous temple of Mārtāṇḍ in Kaśmīr.[1]

In the present instance the panel on the proper right of the porch shows a female figure standing on what appears to be the *makara*—the vehicle of Gaṅgā (Plate IV and Fig. 3). She is attended by two smaller figures, one of which holds a parasol over the goddess, who seems to rest her left hand on the head of the other attendant standing in front of her. In her right hand she must have held a lotus-stalk, the flower of which is preserved in one of the upper corners of the panel. The corresponding panel on the proper left is almost entirely defaced, but the parasol in the upper corner nearest the entrance is still plainly visible.

[1] Major H. H. Cole—*Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869, plates 16-18, has misinterpreted these figures as "one of the Sun's wives, the Moon in conjunction, Intellect or Brightness."

The pilasters separating the panels just described support a double cornice of carved brickwork similar in design to that of the early plinth of the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā. Between the two cornices runs a frieze of smaller rectangular panels (16″ by 9″) alternating with balusters which are decorated with a chequered pattern. The panels enclosed between these balusters exhibit a marvellous variety of decorative designs. The most prominent feature of this frieze is the prevalence of scroll work, usually combined with phantastical birds and beasts. Among the latter we notice especially the *makara*, sometimes with a human figure apparently jumping out of its jaws—a familiar device of Indian art.[1] One of the two panels of the frieze reproduced by Cunningham appears to be a variation of this theme, but it is unfortunately too much injured to allow of detailed identification. The other panel shows a cock-fight.



Fig. 2.

A curious terra-cotta panel which, to judge from its size (17¼″ by 9″), must have belonged to the same frieze, is illustrated here (Fig. 2). It was discovered in the course of the recent survey of the temple by Mr. A. H. Longhurst, and is comparatively well preserved. It represents a four-armed Gaṇēśa holding in one of his left hands his favourite dish of sweetmeats and raising the forefinger (Skr. *tarjanī*) of one of his right hands as if to threaten a male figure which seems to attack or pursue him. The head and part of the right arm and leg of the latter figure are broken. Possibly the Gaṇēśa held in his two upper hands attributes which have also been lost. The upper left hand at least seems to clasp some object—perhaps an elephant hook (Skr. *aṅkuśa*), the usual weapon of the elephant-headed god. His upper right hand is open and raised as if to ward off a blow, which the other person is about to inflict.

I do not know to what myth this curious scene refers. But the panel will show that the terra-cotta sculptures of the Bhītargāon temple are well-moulded and full of action. They remind one of the terra-cotta fragments found in

[1] This motive I have proposed to explain from certain Mathurā sculptures, which, in their turn, show the influence of the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1906-7, p. 160.

TEMPLE OF BHITARGAON.

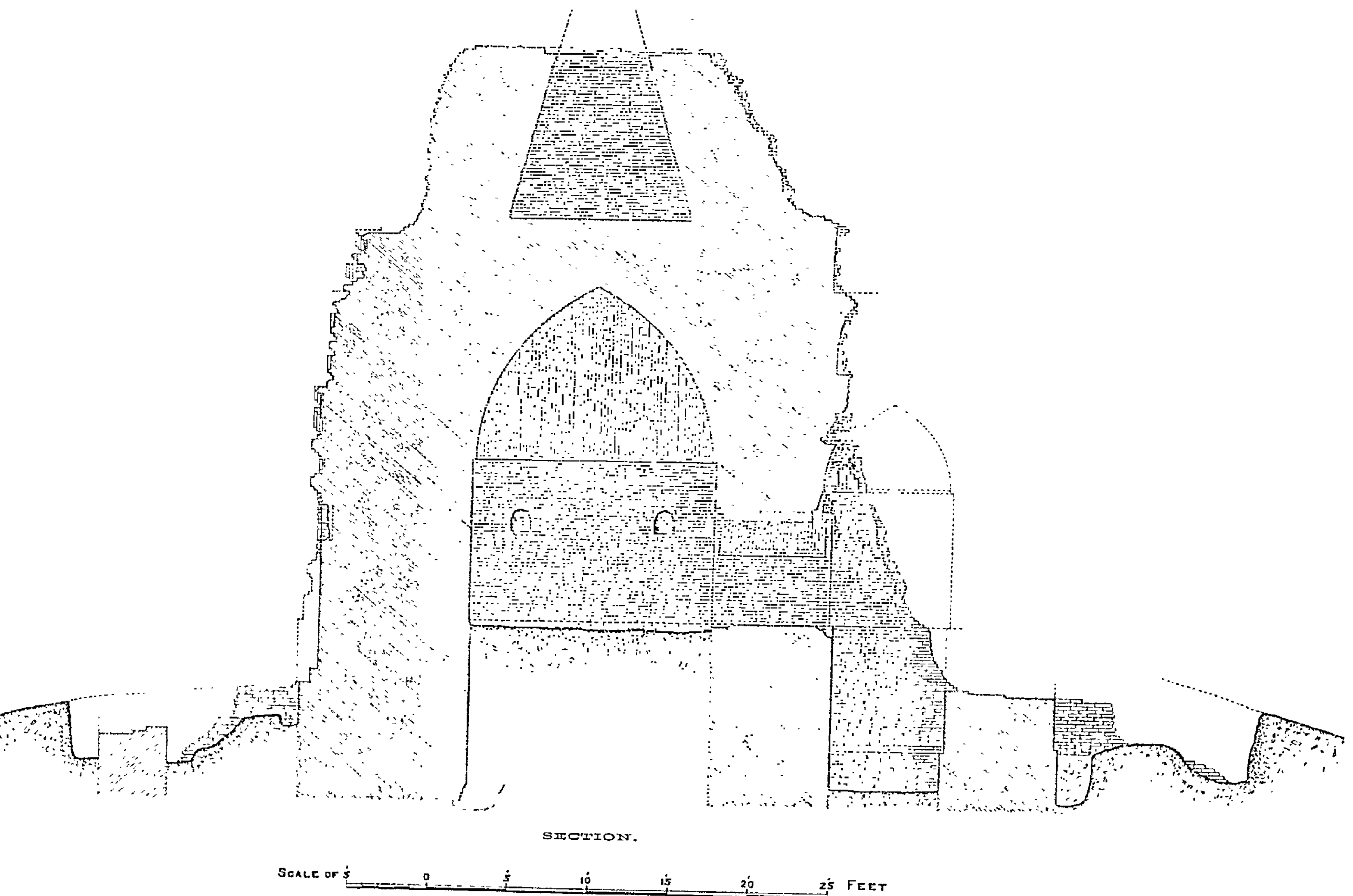


PLATE III.

such abundance around the main temple of the ancient city of Śrāvastī (the so-called Kachchī Kuṭī) in the course of my excavation in the winter of 1907-8.[1] The Bhītargāon terra-cottas show, however, superior workmanship and may, on that account, be assigned to a somewhat earlier period.

The double cornice of carved brickwork and intervening panelled frieze separate the body of the temple from the spire. The latter is decorated with numerous tiers of niches of various size, either round or square-headed, several of which contain boldly projecting busts or heads. In some cases the niches are occupied by one or more entire figures. As each successive course recedes several inches, the width of the temple gradually diminishes towards the top. Already in Cunningham's days most of the upper niches were empty. A panel illustrated by him is said to have occupied one of the upper niches.[2] It represents the well-known scene of Vishṇu reclining on the world-serpent Śēsha, while Brahmā is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which issues from Vishṇu's navel. In front of the sleeping god we notice the Asuras Madhu and Kaiṭabha who, each armed with a mace, are ready to attack Brahmā. In the course of the recent repairs half a dozen complete panels with single busts or heads came to light beside numerous fragments, a list of which will be given at the end of the present paper. All these objects have been deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

The spire of the Bhītargāon temple with its rows of heads peeping, as it were, out of so many dormer windows bears a curious resemblance to some of the so-called Raths at Māmallapuram ("Seven Pagodas") near Madras and also to the Chandi Bhīma on the Dieng plateau in Central Java.[3] The Dieng group is the oldest group of temples found in that island. Near the temple just mentioned was found an inscription dated in the year 731 of the Śaka era. Dr. N. J. Krom, Director of Archæology in Java, has called my attention to another Javanese temple which exhibits the same peculiarity. It is the Gunung Gangsīr, a brick temple on the border of the residencies Soerabaya and Pasaroean. It is the oldest temple known to exist in Eastern Java.[4]

On my visit in December 1907 I found to my great regret that, since Cunningham surveyed the temple in February 1878, nearly the whole porch had collapsed, only a small portion of its north wall being left standing (Fig. 3). I was told by one of the villagers that this damage had occurred some twelve years before. It is sad to think that timely measures, involving but trifling expenditure, might have prevented the partial destruction of this valuable monument. The present instance shows clearly the necessity of periodical inspection.

Mr. A. C. Polwhele, Superintending Engineer, informs me that in 1884-5 it was proposed to repair the temple with plain brickwork of large bricks similar to those used in its construction and to rebuild certain fallen portions in the same manner so as to prevent further falling away. This was estimated to cost Rs. 1,945. Subsequently it was decided merely to rebuild such portions

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, pp. 95 ff.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, plate XVII. It is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[3] James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers (London, 1910), Vol. I, pp. 327 ff. and II, p. 431 ; plate XLIX.

[4] *Rapport Oudheidkundige Commissie voor* 1903, p. 50.

of the plinth as had crumbled away and the face of the porch to prevent the overhanging superstructure from falling over. The cost was estimated at Rs. 550.



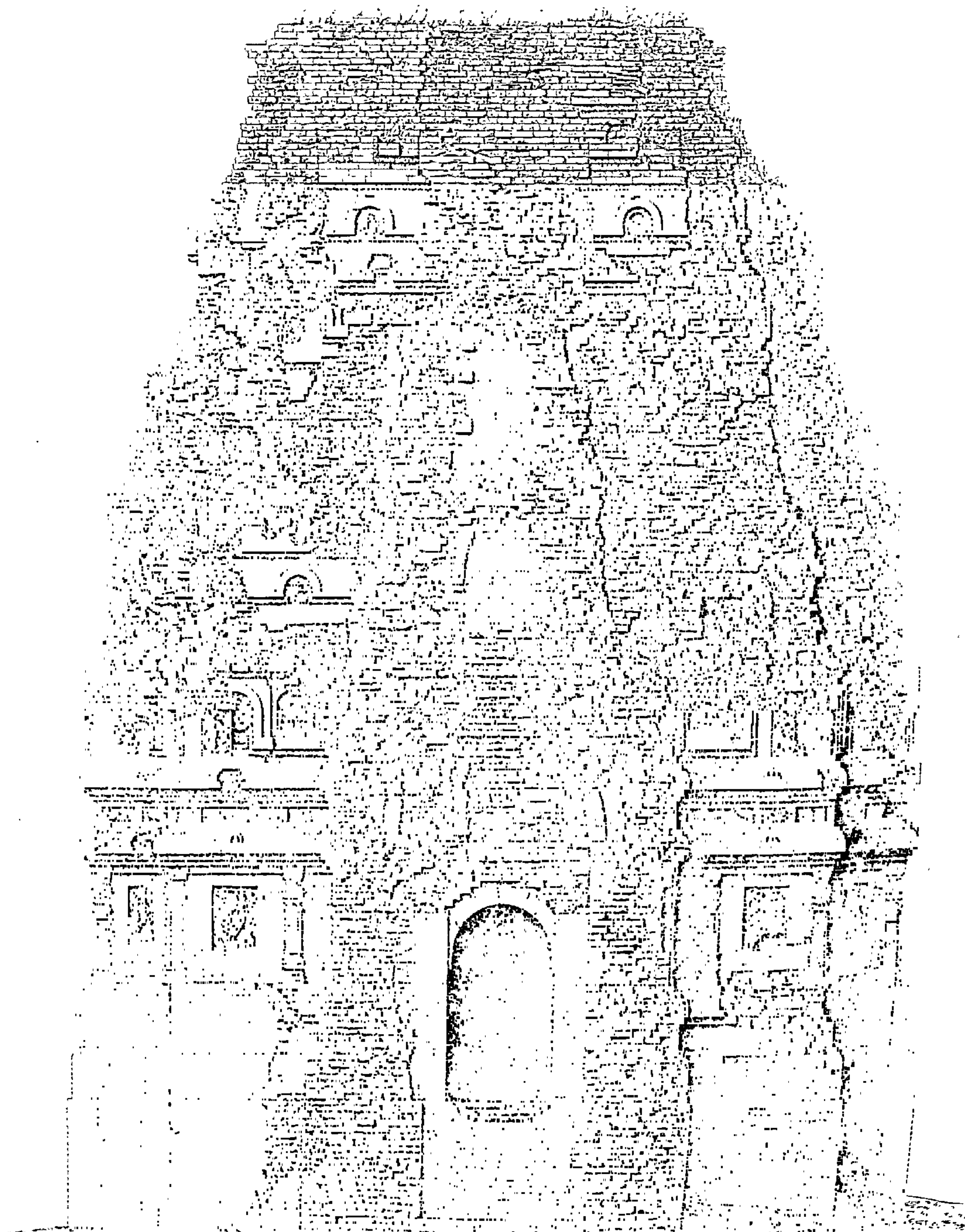
Fig. 3.

It appears from the records, however, that the matter was shelved at the time for want of the trifling sum necessary to carry out the repairs and was eventually dropped, so that nothing was actually done.[1]

In recent years repairs were carried out on the Bhītargāon temple, if the information which I obtained on the spot is correct, in the spring of 1905 under the supervision of a native sub-overseer, who, evidently finding some savings on his estimate, took it on himself to utilise these according to his own taste.

In December 1907 I found the body of the temple covered up to the cornice with a thick layer of white plaster neatly finished off at the corners. It is needless to say that the coat of plaster, without adding in any degree to the strength of

[1] The temple is now on the list of archæological monuments in the United Provinces, prepared in accordance with the Government of India, Home Department, Resolution No. 3/168-183, dated the 26th November 1883.



FRONT ELEVATION.

FEET 5 4 3 2 1 0 SCALE 5 10 15 20 FEET

the structure, produced by its glaring freshness a painful contrast with the subdued antiquity of the decayed brickwork.

It was on my recommendation that, in January 1909, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, while officiating for me as Superintendent of the Northern Circle, took in hand a survey of the Bhītargāon temple. Subsequently six record drawings and three working plans were prepared and several photographs taken under Mr. Longhurst's directions.[1] Unfortunately the repairs could not be carried out under his personal supervision owing to some delay in providing the necessary funds.[2] I wish here to quote Mr. Longhurst's account of this important work in full:—

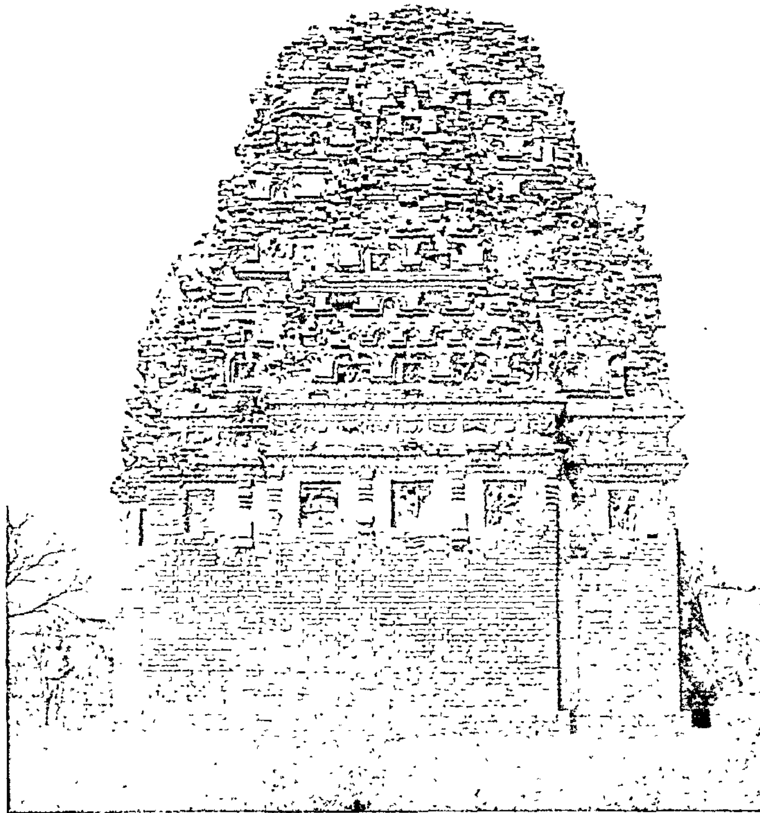


Fig. 4.

"I found the temple," he wrote,[3] "in a very dilapidated condition, the whole of the upper portion of the spire down to the ornamental brick cornice being far too decayed to justify any attempt at repairs beyond closing up the well-like opening in the summit of the room from the outside with new brickwork, making this portion of the building watertight. The plinth should be restored so as to mark

[1] The drawings reproduced in plates III—V are the work of M. Ghulam Muhammad, head-draftsman, Archl. Survey, Northern Circle.

[2] An estimate amounting to Rs. 3,023 was received from Mr. A. C. Polwhele with his letter No. 3547 M G/1131, dated the 13th May 1909.

[3] *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year 1908-9*, pp. 28 f.

the original site and to strengthen the base of the building. The circular brick arch over the doorway, where the porch has fallen, requires repairing on both sides of the entrance in order to support the overhanging mass of decayed brickwork above. These are the main points with regard to the repairs that I have proposed in my notes, and as I found that a written description without drawings would be quite useless to assist the Public Works Department in carrying out the work, I prepared a set of six working drawings showing the proposed repairs to this temple and explanatory notes showing the manner in which the work should be completed. These drawings I submitted to the District Engineer, Cawnpore, and we discussed the repairs on the spot. An estimate amounting to Rs. 3,023 has been framed and a special sum of Rs. 500 was allotted, while I was in camp at Bhītargāon, so that I might personally superintend the repairs, but as there was some delay in obtaining the money, I was only able to see the work commenced before I had to return to headquarters. However, there should be no difficulty about carrying out the work, as the drawings show exactly how much of this ruined building should be repaired and how much should be left as it is.

"In excavating the ground around the base line of the building we found a number of valuable and interesting terra-cotta bas-relief panels and broken fragments of beautifully carved bricks. These I had photographed, numbered, and despatched to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A detailed list of these acquisitions will be found beneath. This excavation work also proved that this temple stood on a raised platform built on cell foundations like the brick temples in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, an interesting fact that has not been previously noticed. Another point about this temple, which does not appear to have been mentioned before, is that stone beams or lintels were originally placed at the front of the existing brick arch, both inside and outside of the sanctum entrance; the large cavities just above the doorway on both sides prove the fact conclusively, and it is probable that the door-frame of the missing porch was also of carved stone, similar to the door-frames of the brick temples in the Central Provinces mentioned above. It will be seen from Plate XV in Volume XI of Cunningham's Reports, that this door-frame had been removed before he visited the temple, and I feel sure that the chief cause of the collapse of this porch is due to the door-frame having been removed; the mass of brickwork above, having no longer any support below, fell in, with the result that practically no trace of the porch now remains.

"One sometimes finds that modern-built temples are partly constructed of ancient building material or contain sculptures or inscriptions taken from some ancient ruined temple in the district, and with this object in view I had inquiries made, and found that there was a modern temple of some importance at the village of Bĕhṭā, about two miles from Bhītargāon (Fig. 5). On inspecting it, I found that, although uninteresting enough exteriorly, the interior of the sanctum showed that a very ancient brick and stone temple once stood here, the old stone work being beautifully and richly carved. A number of large and well executed sculptures together with broken portions of carved stone door-frames, architraves and pillars were lying about the temple compound or had

DETAIL: NORTH-EAST ANGLE.

SCALE



been used in repairing the temple or compound entrance. It is obvious that all these sculptures and portions of ancient building material could not have belonged to the original temple that once stood here, and that some of it must

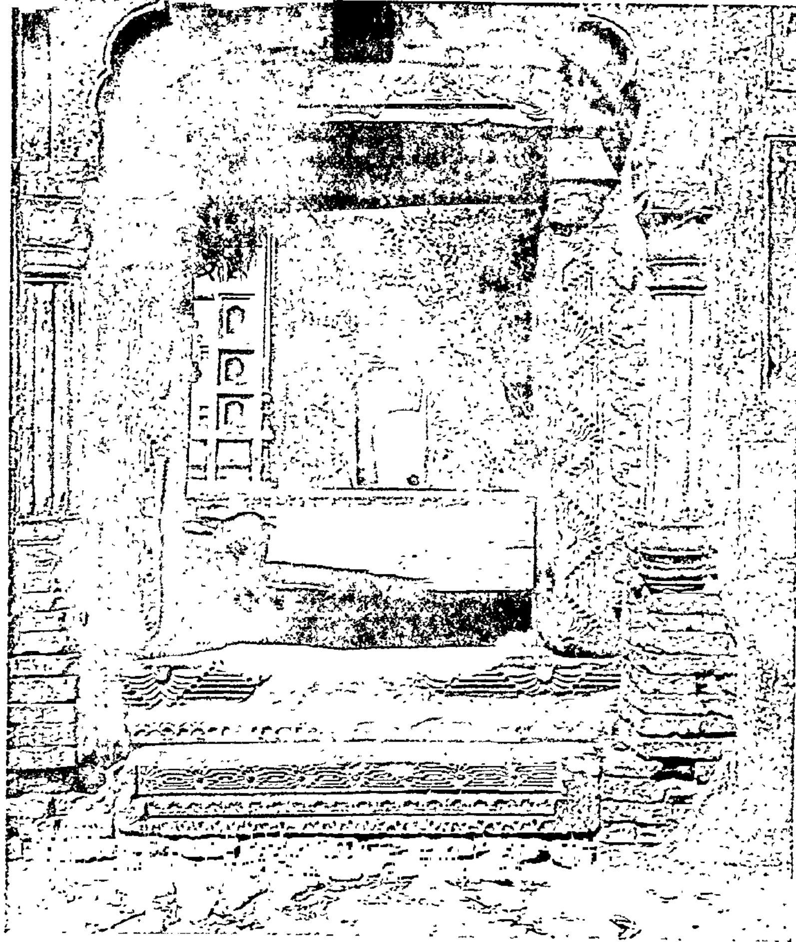


Fig. 5.

have been removed from some other ruined shrine in the neighbourhood and brought to Bēhṭā at the time when the temple was so exteriorly repaired. The nearest, and, as far as I am aware, the only ruined temple near Bēhṭā is that of Bhītargāon, which is only two miles away, and I feel sure that some of the ancient material represents portions of the missing stone door jambs and lintels of that edifice. The sculptures alone prove that the ancient remains collected here belong to two distinct temples, for I found lying on the ground in the compound the broken remains of a large, well-carved representation of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī seated on the bull Nandi, which must have been about four feet high when entire, and in one of the small modern cells built on either side of the temple doorway I found a particularly well-carved representation of Vishṇu reclining upon the folds of the serpent Śesha illustrating the birth of Brahmā. It is a fine

piece of work, and in good preservation, and carved out of a solid block of sand-stone (4′ 2″ by 2′ 9″ by 1′ 3″). It is not used as an object of worship, but is lying on the ground neglected. There is a similar cell opposite containing two well-carved images, one representing Lakshmaṇa (5′ 3″ by 2 9″ by 1′ 0″) and the other is a figure of Gaṇēśa (2′ 6″ by 2′ 6″ by 1′ 0″). These three sculptures are all carved in similar stone and are of the same date, the stone being of a light buff colour and apparently the same as that used in the stone door-frame of the ancient brick temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces where a similar representation of Vishṇu may be seen forming the upper portion of the stone door-frame. In a great many respects the ancient brick temples in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces are similar to the one at Bhītargāon; but the latter appears to me to be at least a century older than the former and probably dates back to the 5th century. The terra-cottas that I have collected at Bhītargāon are the finest I have ever seen in India; the expression given to the faces and the life and action shown in the modelling of the limbs and figures are almost perfect."

List of objects discovered on the site of the temple at Bhītargāon, Cawnpore District.

1. Terra-cotta bas-relief rectangular panel (18½″ × 9½″ × 2¾″) representing a headless male figure apparently attacking a four-armed Gaṇēśa (*cf.* above page 10 and Fig. 2).

2. Terra-cotta bas-relief circular panel (7½″ diameter and 2″ thick) representing a smiling female head looking out of a circular window.

3—7. Terra-cotta bas-reliefs, each 6″ × 6″, representing female heads looking out of arched windows.

8. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken portion of a rectangular panel (5½″ × 9½″ × 3″) representing male figure, head and right arm missing.

9. Carved stone tablet (7″ × 3¾″) representing Śiva and Pārvatī, with Gaṇēśa and Nandi below, found inside the sanctum, about 14 feet below the floor-level of the temple, amongst the foundations.

10—12. Terra-cotta fragments of female heads.

13. Terra-cotta fragment of an animal's head.

14—31. Carved bricks, incomplete.

32—38. Terra-cotta fragments.

39. Terra-cotta bas-relief, broken rectangular panel (18½″ × 9½″ × 3″) representing two male figures wrestling. The head and right leg of the proper left figure are missing and only one leg of the other figure is preserved.

40—50. Terra-cotta fragments.

51. „ bas-relief circular panel (11″ diameter). Much decayed.

52—68. Broken terra-cotta fragments.

69—81. „ carved bricks.

C.—Mediæval Brick Temples. (Plates VI-VII.)

It will not be out of place to complete the present paper with some notes on the mediæval brick temples in the Cawnpore and Fatehpur Districts which I visited in the course of my tour in December 1907. They are the temples of Paraulī, Rār and Simbhuā in the Cawnpore District and those of Tindūlī, Bahuā, Kurārī and Ṭhiṭaurā in the Fatehpur District.[1]

[1] All these temples, as well as the Bhītargāon one and the site of the Saton temple, have been declared protected monuments by Notification No. $\frac{1928\ M}{367}$, dated 8th September 1908.

Temple at Paraulī.

Two miles to the north of Bhītargāon lies the village of Paraulī, which possesses a ruined brick temple of the mediæval type. It is briefly noted by Cunningham.[1] As pointed out by him, its plan must originally have been a sixteen-sided polygon externally (Fig. 6). Presumably three out of the sixteen sides were cut off straight so as to form the entrance, which was turned towards the west. The steps leading up to the entrance are still extant, but the whole north-western half of the building

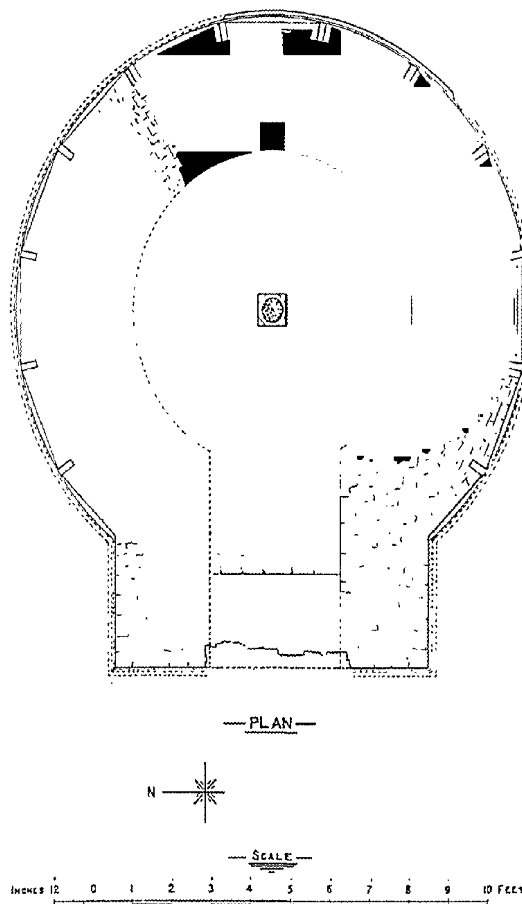


Fig. 6.

has fallen down. In the sides turned towards the south and east Cunningham noticed small niches, 11½″ high and 6½″ wide. "Outside," he says, "the whole surface of the walls is richly decorated with deeply cut arabesque ornament in perpendicular lines, the edges of each face being distinctly marked by sunken lines by the omission of a brick in every alternate course. The effect is decidedly good, as the different faces are all clearly defined." The preserved portion of the temple shows

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 46 f.

six faces decorated in this manner (Plate VI). A peculiarity of the Parauli temple, not found anywhere else, is the shape of the cella, which is circular instead of square. It contains a stone *liṅga*, from which the shrine is locally known as Mahādēv Bābā.

The standing portion of the building is still in fair preservation.

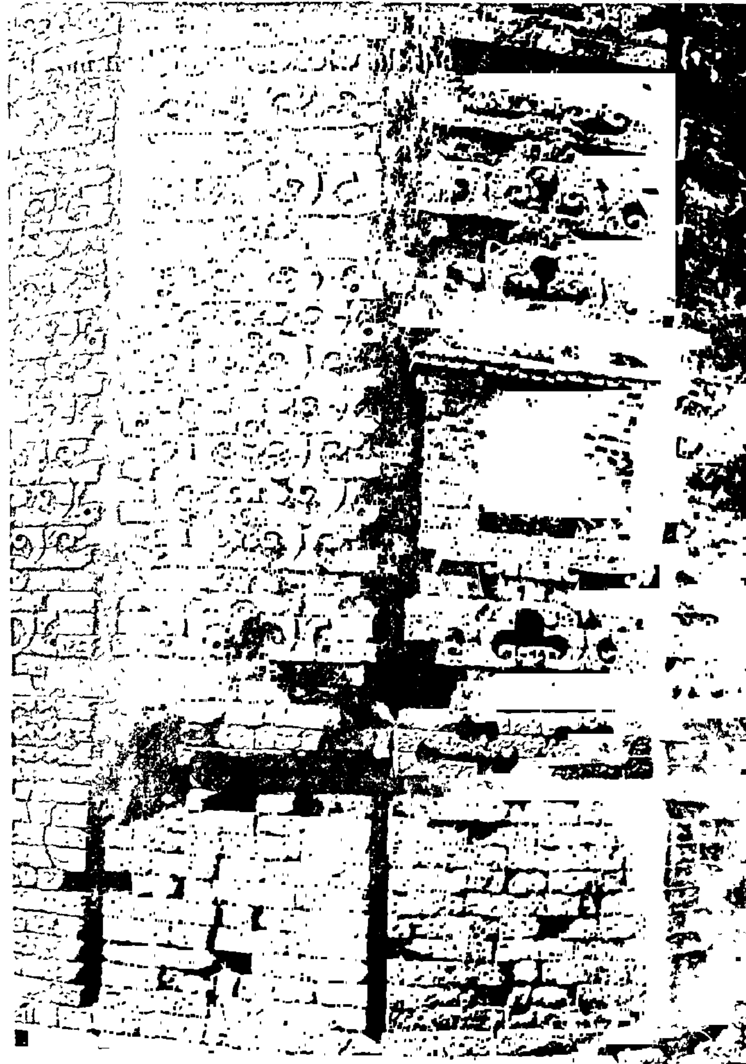


Fig. 7.

Temples at Rār and Simbhuā.

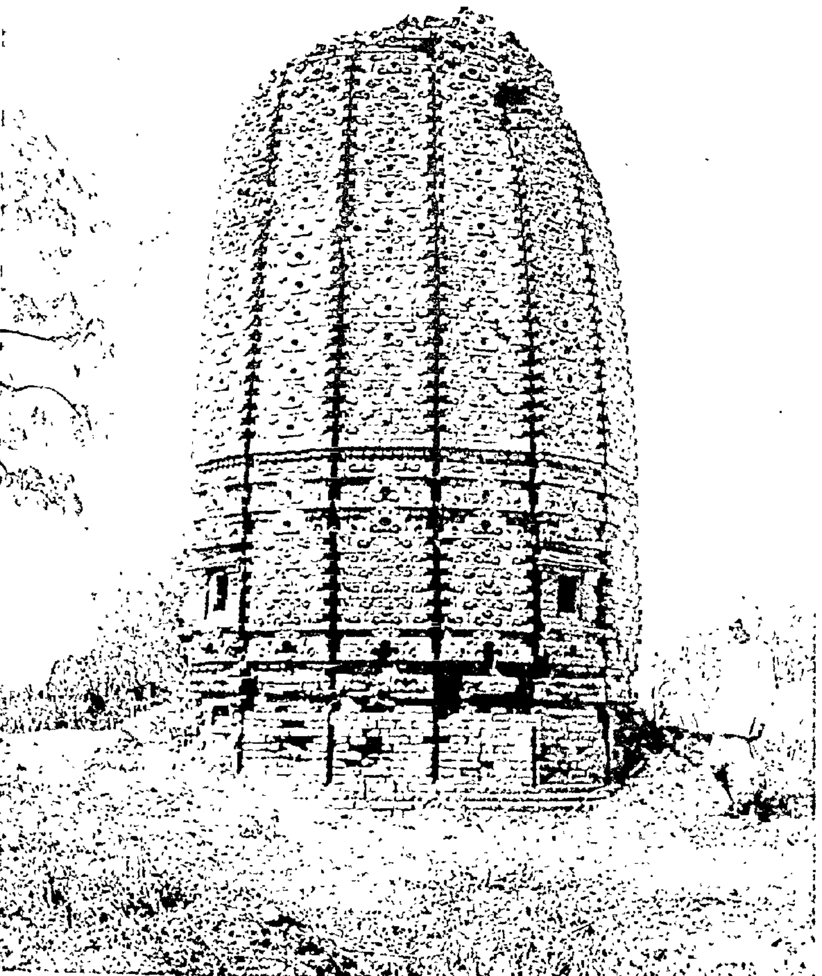
Cunningham mentions two temples at Rār about five *kōs* to the south, and one at Simbhuā, some three *kōs* west of Bhītargāon. These buildings I have not been able to visit in the course of my tour. The two small temples at Rār have been described by Cunningham.[1] The larger of the two is said to be decorated in the same style as the one at Parauli, and presumably belongs to approximately the same date.

The temples of Rār and Simbhuā were subsequently inspected by Mr. Longhurst, who did not consider that they possessed any particular archæological interest.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 47.



(a) FRONT VIEW FROM NORTH-WEST.



(b) BACK VIEW, FROM SOUTH-EAST.

Temple at Tindūlī.

The temple of Tindūlī, Fatehpur District, situated one and a half miles north of Bindkī *taḥṣīl*, is one of the most perfect specimens of the late mediæval style of brick-built temples.[1] It has this peculiarity that the square cella (6′ 9″ by 6′ 7″) is covered over with a ceiling of overlapping stone slabs, which rest on four pilasters and architraves of the same material. All the stonework is decorated with carvings, the ceiling with partly defaced Rākshasa masks. The pilasters have square shafts, and their capitals and bases are of the pot-and-foliage type.

The shrine contains a stone image (4′ 6″ by 2′ 4″) of the four-armed Vishṇu, from which the temple is known by the name of Chaturbhuj Bābā. The god who is shown standing on a lotus is surrounded by celestial beings. The head and arms of the main figure are broken, but the head is still extant and can be refixed. Many of the attending figurines are defaced.

The temple faces north. The plan is circular exteriorly, the plinth and lower mouldings having been restored by Mr. Growse. The whole outer surface of the temple is richly decorated with carved brick-work. The porch, as Mr. Growse remarks, with its Muhammadan arch, is a later addition. It is said to have been built in the second half of the 18th century, and to its construction the fair preservation of the building is, no doubt, largely due. About 1880 the temple was repaired by Mr. Growse from a grant sanctioned by the Local Government. He summarizes the repairs done by him in the following words : " I have dressed up the terrace, giving it a masonry wall in front with a flight of nine steps up to the level of the temple floor, and have restored the plinth. These measures will, it is hoped, prevent any further fall of the superstructure."

The hope expressed in the last sentence has unfortunately not been fulfilled. The upper portion of the façade on the north side of the spire has collapsed and will have to be re-built of plain bricks. But first of all it will have to be ascertained whether the present porch possesses sufficient strength to carry the superstructure. If this is not the case, it will be necessary to re-build the porch also.

The south-east side and the upper portion of the spire also show traces of repair executed with small plain bricks ; these probably date from the earlier restoration. The north wall of the platform on which the temple is raised was re-built by Mr. Growse together with the steps ; but on the remaining three sides the walls have fallen away, and should be completed. Finally, I note that the stone architrave on the south side (back) of the cella is broken.

Temple at Bahuā.

Mr. Growse[2] notes the following regarding the temple at Bahuā, 13 miles from Fatehpur, on the road to Banda : " A small ruinous temple, known by the name of Kakōra Bābā, dates apparently from the tenth century. The *śikhara*, or tower, is of moulded brick ; the cella which it covers has pillars, architraves and ceiling, all

[1] F. S. Growse, *Supplement of the Fatehpur Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1887, p. 11.

[2] Growse, *op. cit*, pp. 9 f.

of carved stone, as in the more perfect example of the same style at Tindūlī. It must have been originally dedicated to Mahādev, and was probably re-named about two hundred years ago, when it was very roughly and ignorantly repaired, many pieces of the doorway being built up into the ceiling and other parts of the fabric. These stones, with one exception, I succeeded in extracting, and on putting them together, so little of the design was found wanting that I was able to re-erect the doorway in its original position. This was done at Government expense. Out of the grant that I obtained for the repairs, I have also raised and levelled the ground about the temple, re-built the plinth, and supplied a flight of steps on the east front under the doorway."

To this I may add that the cella measures 6′ 9″ by 6′ 5″ and the porch 5′ by 2′ 6″. The temple faces east. Its ground plan is square with recessed corners. In the facing only moulded, but no carved, bricks are used. The loss of the spire and the repairs executed in brick and mortar, partly plastered over, and with stone fragments of some other temple, give the building a singularly insignificant and patched appearance. The most interesting portion is certainly the porch of carved stonework, which was restored by Mr. Growse.

I do not know on what grounds Mr. Growse assumes that the Bahuā temple was originally dedicated to Śiva. The headless stone Nandi now placed opposite the entrance may have come from elsewhere. The stone water spout in the north wall does not afford any proof. So much is certain that the shrine now contains an image of the sleeping Vishṇu, placed upright in such a way as to appear a standing image. It is a curious instance showing how little the plastic representations of Hindu deities are understood by the very people who worship them.

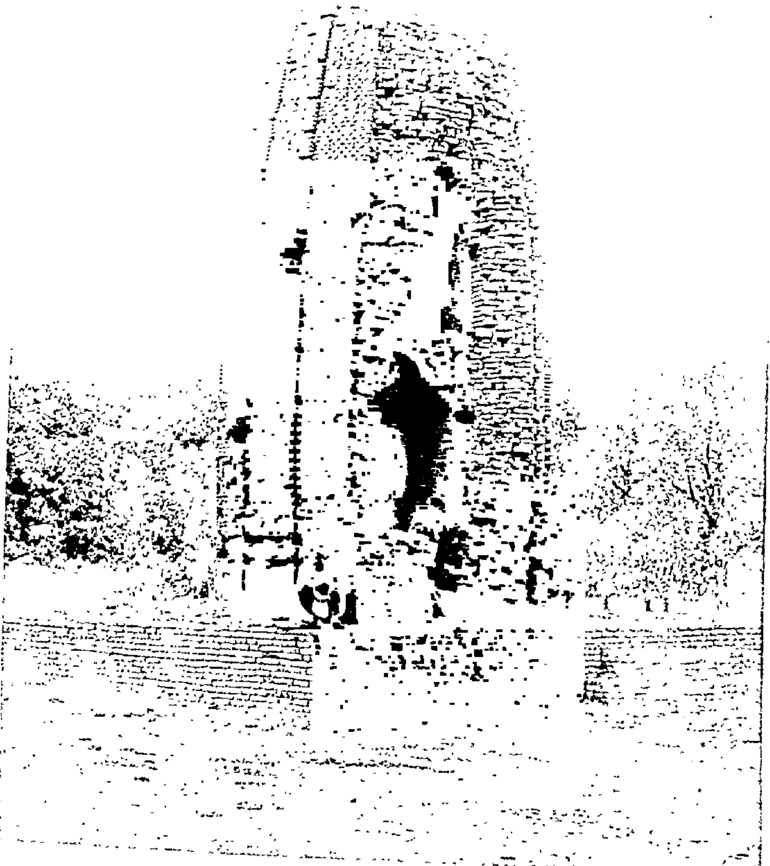
The Bahuā temple, thanks to previous repairs, is in a fair state of preservation, but in places the masonry has become disjointed.

Temples at Kurārī.

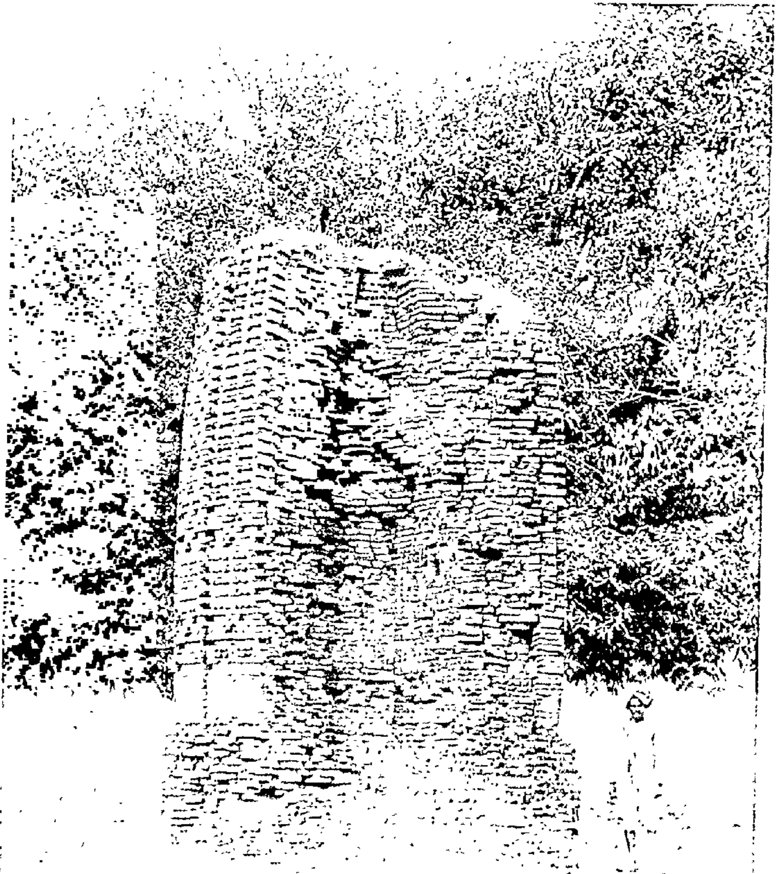
Outside the village of Kurārī, some two miles north of Bahuā, there is a group of four partly ruined temples picturesquely situated on the southern bank of an ancient tank surrounded by fruit trees. The temple (A), farthest away from the village, is still standing (Plate VII *a*.). It is known by the name of Deora Bâbā. The building, which is raised on a plinth (27′ by 28′ 3″) faces north-east and contains a single chamber, 5′ 2″ square, which is covered over by a double dome constructed in the corbelling fashion. The upper dome is built in the familiar shape of a Hindu spire or *śikhara*. The whole surface is richly decorated with carved brick-work. Exteriorly the ground plan is similar to that of the Paraulī temple ; it is a polygon of sixteen sides, of which three sides are cut off by a straight line so as to form the façade.

The different faces are plainly marked by recesses in the brick facing. The design of the decoration is the same on each face, except in the lowermost moulding, where carved and plain brick-work alternate. The back and side faces contain small niches, such as are found in the Paraulī temple. The façade has completely collapsed together with the face adjoining it to the proper left. Possibly it was partly built of stone or was provided with a stone porch. The cella, at least, contains several stone

TEMPLE AT KURARI.



(*a*) TEMPLE A. FROM EAST.



(*b*) TEMPLE B. FROM WEST.

fragments among which are portions of stone door-jambs. I noticed also a fragment of a Gaṇēśa figure and a hand holding a conch, which may have belonged to a Vishṇu image.

Immediately to the west of temple (A) there is a flat mound, which perhaps marks the site of another completely ruined shrine.

Further west we find three more or less ruined temples. None of them is now used for worship. That to the south (B) and farthest from the tank faces south-east and contains a cella, 4′ 2″ square, surmounted by a *śikhara* (Plate VII *b*.). Its type and ground plan are similar to those of (A), but the design of its brick decoration is different, and varies according to the faces on which it is found. Here also the façade has completely collapsed. The building is more dilapidated than (A); only eleven out of the sixteen sides are still standing.

The next temple (C) is almost completely ruined; little more than the basement is left standing. The cella measures 4′ 4″ square. Its plan appears to be similar to that of (A) and (B), but the ornamentation differs.

The fourth temple (D) is also largely ruined, but two sides of the walls are still standing. It seems to have faced north-east. The cella measures 5′ 3″ square. Of the preserved portion nearly the whole facing of the decorative brickwork has fallen away except that on the south-west, which is also in danger of giving way.

Temples at Ṭhiṭhaurā.

Ṭhiṭhaurā is situated between Dugrai and Shāhbāzpur, at a distance of some six miles north of Bahuā. As I did not reach the village until after sunset, and had still to proceed to Junihā, my visit was a hurried one. This I regretted the more as the temple which I inspected at Ṭhiṭhaurā is probably the best specimen of its kind. It faces east, is almost square in plan and is profusely decorated with carved bricks. The cella, which measures 5′ 1″ square, contains a broken image, apparently of Vishṇu, with the usual attending figures.

Here also the porch appears to be a later addition. In the present instance, however, the doorway is not provided with an arch, but with wooden beams, which are in great danger of giving way under the mass of masonry they have to support. They should be replaced by stone lintels or iron rails. Presumably there was originally a porch built of stone.

On the north-east corner of the plinth stands a small ruined temple. I was told that there exists at Ṭhiṭhaurā another ancient temple built of plain brick-work, but the falling darkness prevented me from inspecting it.

J. PH. VOGEL.

CONSERVATION IN MADRAS.

THE places at which conservation measures have been carried out number over forty, but as some of these are extensive sites, which include several monuments or groups of them, the total number of buildings is somewhat larger. The most important are those which have figured prominently in previous reports, and in which groups of structures are being steadily and successively taken up. Some new works have been taken in hand, but the repairs at these places are none of them of a very extensive order.

Even so, certain works which had been contemplated, and estimates for which had been duly countersigned, have had to be postponed owing to the misconduct of my late office manager, who suppressed the estimates in question. But the amount of money which lapsed in consequence has proved to be less than was at first feared, and the few works which have been delayed for this reason will be proceeded with at the first opportunity.

The most extensive measures of conservation carried out during the year were those at Vijayanagar, where work has been steadily progressing for some years past. Among the most noteworthy buildings which received attention were the large and important temples of Viṭṭhalasvāmī, Kṛishṇasvāmī, Achyutarāyasvāmī and Paṭṭābhirāmasvāmī. These had all previously undergone extensive repairs, but the necessary additions which were pointed out by me in a previous inspection have now in large measure been carried out.

Among the lesser temples and other buildings are the Gaṇigeṭṭi Jain temple, the Chaṇḍikēśvara temple, the Śiva temple and Maṇḍapam near Viṭṭhalasvāmī temple, the Chandraśēkhara maṭham and the Sarasvatī temple near it, and the Vēṅkaṭarāmasvāmī temple near Kamalāpuram.

The repairs on these buildings were generally of the same nature as has been previously described, and need not now be given in detail.

Some of the repairs, however, present difficulties which tax the skill of the engineers to the utmost, as will be realized without detailed description by a reference to Fig. 1, which represents the Hēmakūṭam Jain temple at Vijayanagar. Its ruined condition is almost solely due to defective foundations. These have been

built on soil placed above the rock on which the temple stands, and enclosed by revetments to prevent the spread of the earth from under the temple walls. By the removal or collapse of the retaining walls the foundations have sunk, with consequent fracture of the superstructure. Several of these Jain temples are in varying stages of similar decay, all due to the same cause, the above being an extreme example. Some have been successfully preserved and others are being attended to.

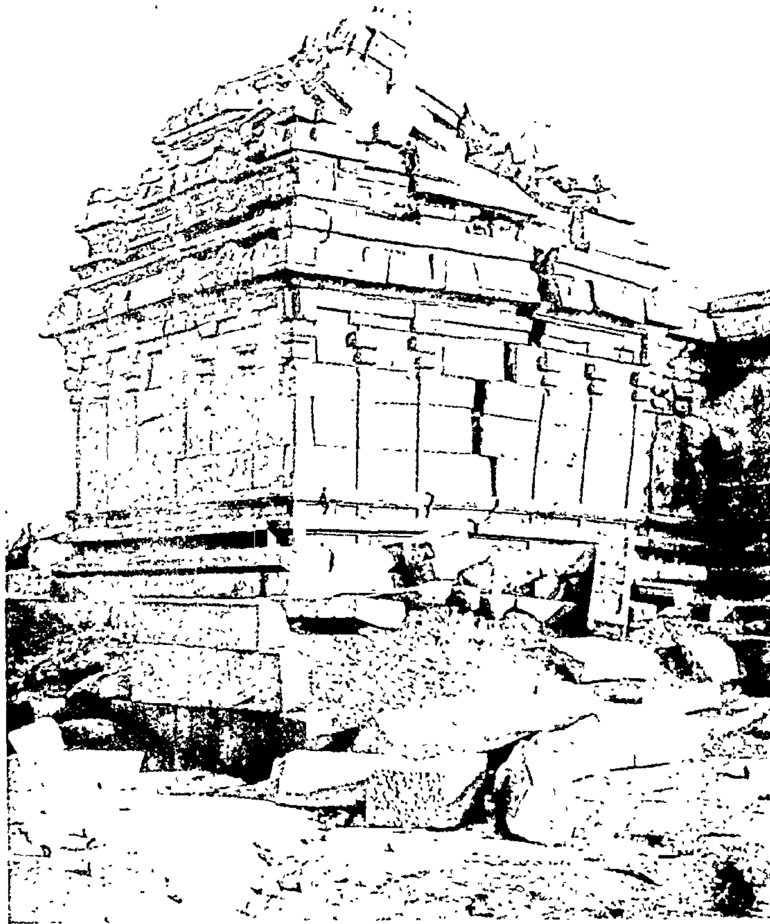


Fig. 1.

The several groups of buildings contained in the ancient palace received attention, which was generally a continuation or completion of previous repairs. Most of these buildings have been described in previous papers, but one not mentioned hitherto calls for notice here. This is the building known as the "watershed," on account of its containing a reservoir which was originally supplied with water from the pipes of the ancient irrigation system, which still exists (Fig. 2).

The building evidently took the place of a public well, and was supplied with water by gravitation from the great tank near Kamalāpuram.

Few visitors to Vijayanagar, who have noticed the stone aqueducts across the low-lying ground near the palace buildings, can have realized how perfect was the ancient system of water-supply by small earthern pipes embedded in blocks of hard mortar or concrete. Remains of these exist in many places, and generally they are formed of groups of several pipes all set close together and parallel to each other.

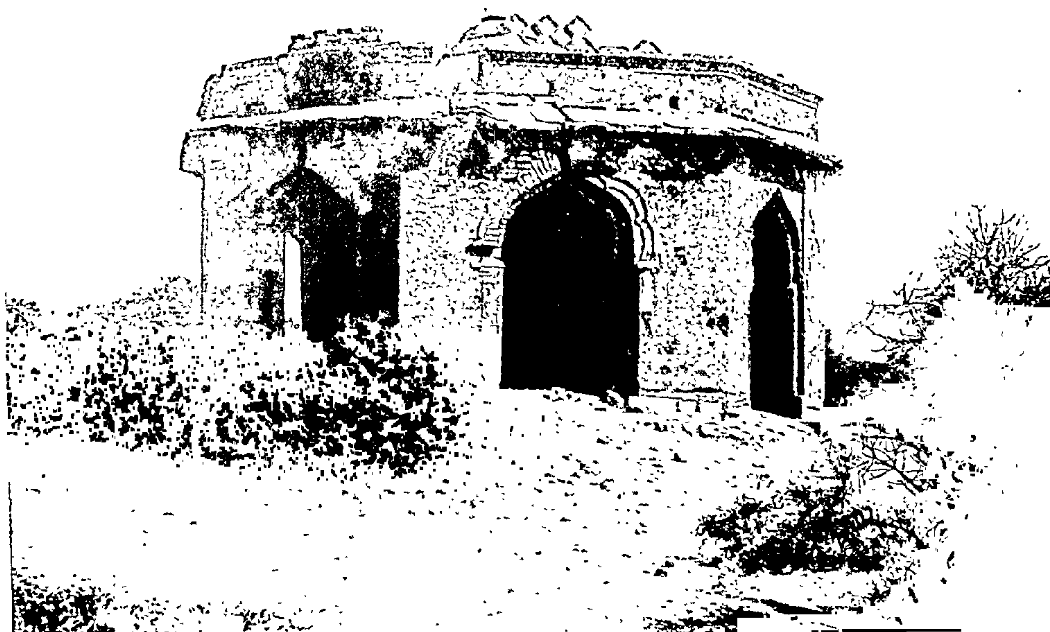


Fig. 2.

The building above illustrated is covered with an arched masonry dome, which, together with the arches of the doorways, was fractured in several places. The reservoir in the centre was also choked up with *débris*, which has now been removed.

Another building, which received its water-supply from the system above alluded to, is the Queen's Bath. It consists of a large, square, uncovered reservoir surrounded on its four sides by arcaded and groined corridors. The outer walls are comparatively plain, though originally they were surmounted by an ornamental cornice and a parapet, which, however, have now almost entirely disappeared, the supporting stone brackets alone remaining. It would, in my opinion, be a permissible piece of restoration to replace this parapet. Its design can easily be gathered from the remnants preserved on parts of the inner walls, as can be seen by referring to Fig. 3. The brackets are the same in both cases, and so must have been the parapet also. At present the exterior wall-head is finished with a layer of plain mortar, which was added in the early eighties, during the time of the late Conservator of Ancient Monuments.

Though the exterior of the building is plain, the interior is lacking neither in ornament nor in architectural detail. Each side consists of three arches through

which the central reservoir could be viewed or entered, and which alternate with projecting balconies. The mullions of these balconies are embossed in arabesque stucco work, which has in parts crumbled away. During the restoration in the early eighties these gaps were covered with plain mortar. It would be an improvement to have this scraped off and replaced by actual stucco casts, taken from mullions

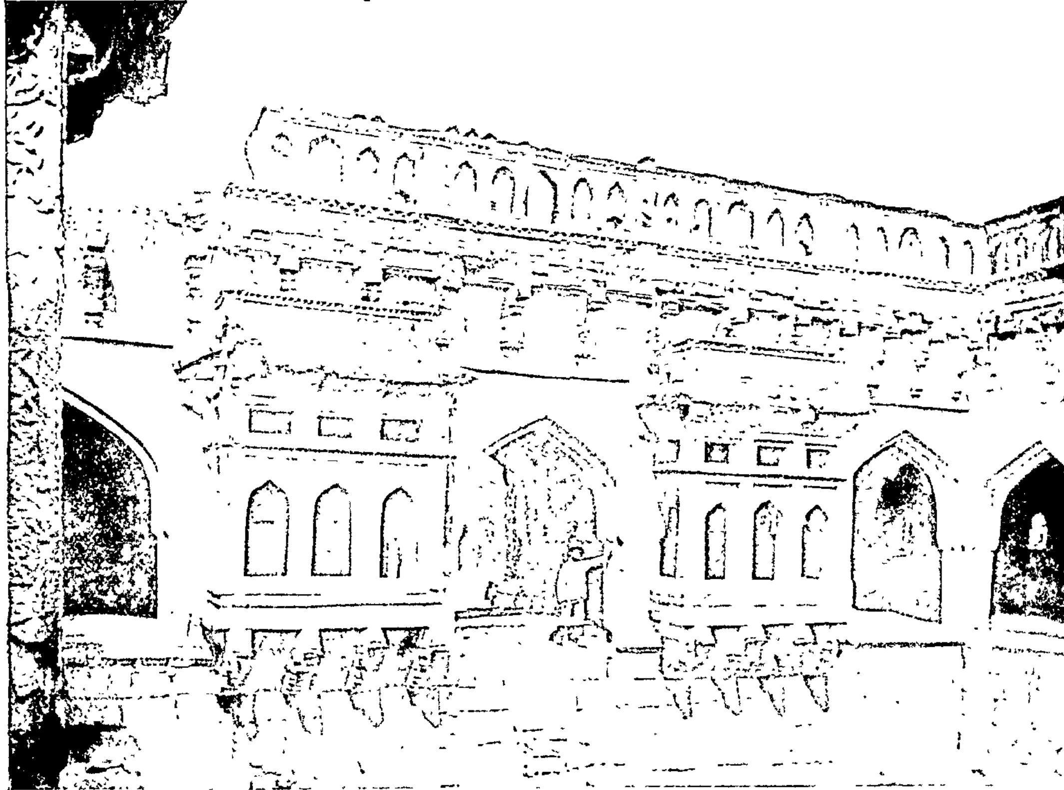


Fig. 3.

where the arabesques remain complete. The parapet which surmounts the inner walls is evidently a replica of that which has disappeared from the exterior. The structure of the building is of stone, with parapets in brick and ornament in stucco.

In a previous paper mention was made of the extensive hill-fortress at Ginjee in the South Arcot District, and of the conservation work which had been initiated there. It will be remembered that the main grouping of the buildings is on and around two lofty detached hills, the Rājagiri and the Kṛishṇagiri, the whole site being enclosed in long lines of fortified walls, which extend for several miles around it.

The general scope ot the work is very much the same as that which has been successfully adopted at Vijayanagar. There is no single conservation work of any great magnitude required, but all of the buildings (and they are both numerous and of considerable size);require individual repairs of one kind or another.

One of the most important stuctures is the many-storeyed building known as the Kalyāṇā Mahall,[1] which is in a very perfect state of preservation.

[1] *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1906-7, pl. II (*a*).

The repairs on this edifice have now been completed. It stands in an extensive courtyard, which must at one time have contained other palace buildings. The ruins of some of these still exist in several mounds within the enclosure. Excavation reveals the foundations of buildings and burnt logs of wood, which show that some of these structures were destroyed by fire. Long lines of arcades and masonry-vaulted buildings in various stages of decay run along the inner walls of the palace enclosure, and the state of repair, which they now exhibit, is almost solely due to the cohesion of the ancient mortar used in the walls and vaults. In some parts several of the adjoining piers have vanished, yet the over-hanging vaulted superstructure of masonry remains intact as if it were formed of solid stone. (Fig. 4.) A view of a part of these vaulted buildings gives an idea of their general state and an appreciation of the problems, which must be faced in any scheme of conservation, which is intended to retain their ancient character, and yet prevent as far as possible further ruin.



Fig. 4.

The building crowning the Rājagiri Hill is a picturesque structure known as the Flagstaff. It was originally surrounded by pillared arcades, which have now partly fallen away. Some measures necessary for the prevention of further decay have been carried out.[1] Progress has also been made with repairs to other of the civil buildings and to the large temples there.

[1] *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1906-7, pl. III (*a*).

Gandhikōṭa in the Cuddapah District is another important fort which has undergone repairs, the preliminary account of which appeared in a previous paper. The work has made considerable progress during the year under review and several buildings have been attended to. Among these is the masonry-vaulted building known as the Magazine, which was disfigured by mud walls built between the arches and by heaps of *débris* in the rooms. These have now been removed. Another interesting building is the lofty tower known as the Chār-minār. (Fig. 5) It was

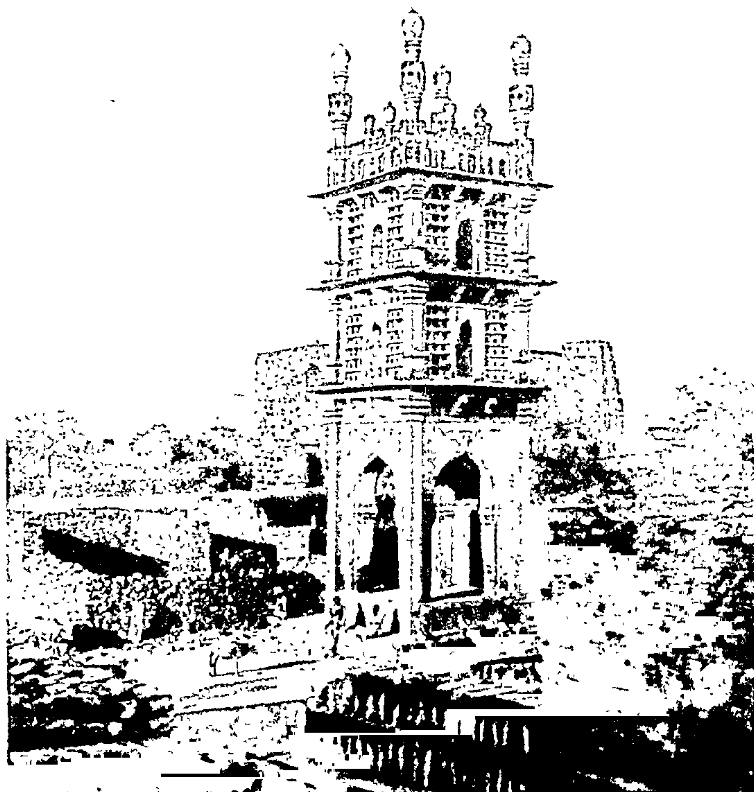


Fig. 5.

generally in a fair state of repair, but some attention was needed for the decayed stucco work, particularly in the perforations of the upper windows. Some displaced stones of the basement, which seemed likely to endanger the security of the foundations, were fixed in position. The figure illustrating this building also shows one of the granaries, of which several remain. These are rectangular structures, with walls of great thickness, and with the interior spaced with lofty masonry pie supporting barrel-vaulted roofs.

Some necessary repairs have also been carried out to the group of eight large temples at Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah District.

An interesting temple of very early date and of unusual design in many of its principal features is that at Kuraṅgunāthan in the Trichinopoly District. (Plate VIII.) Some extensive and urgently needed repairs have been executed there.

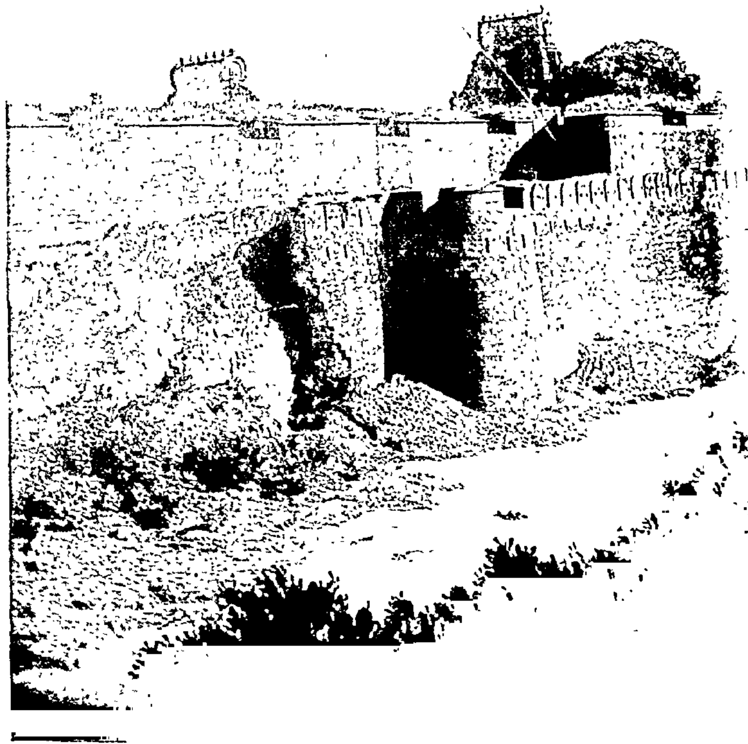


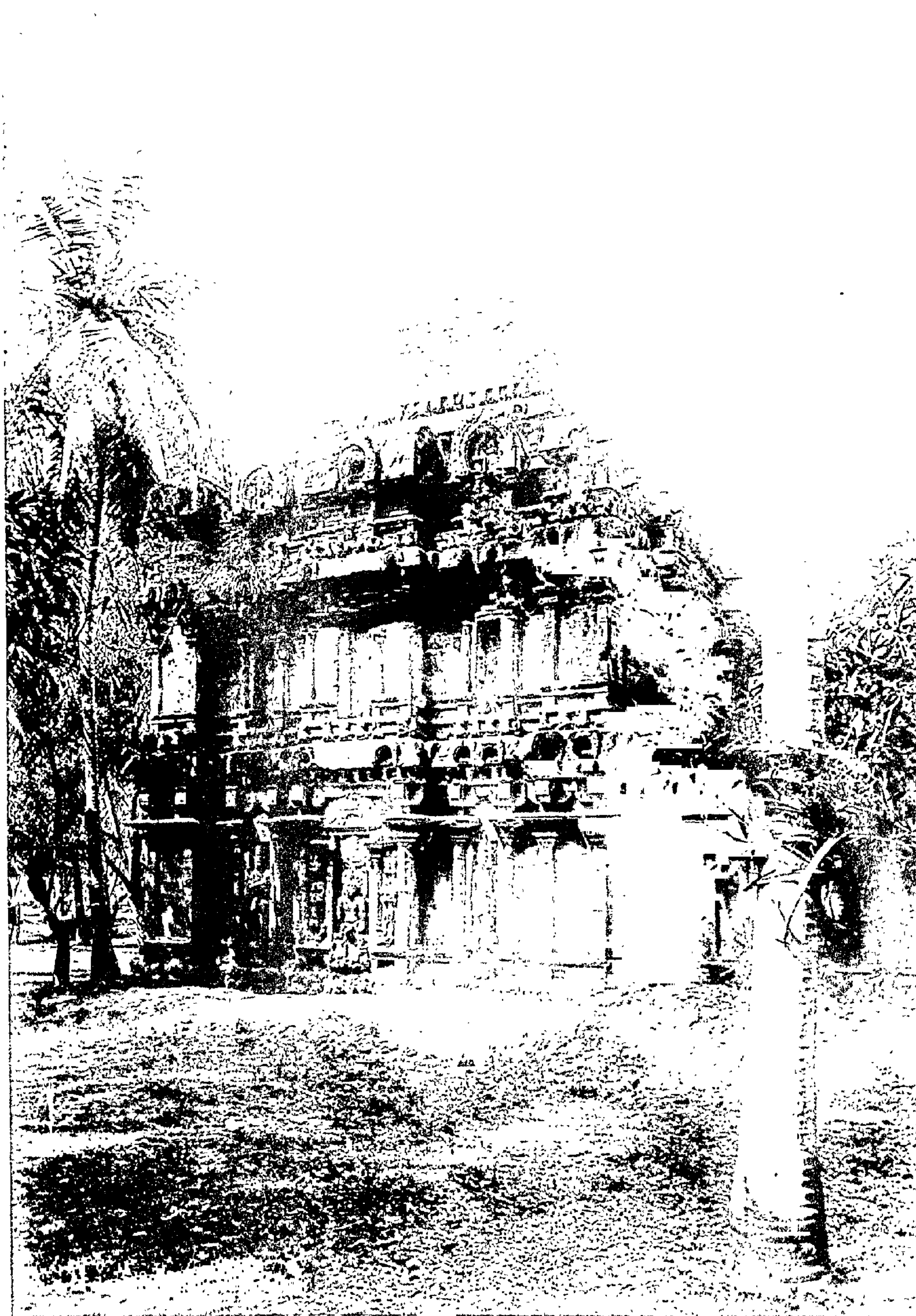
Fig. 6.

It is stated that worship was never performed in the temple owing to its having been defiled by a monkey (Tamil *kuraṅgu*) after its consecration. From this it has derived its name.

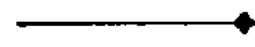
Among the remaining monuments, on which extensive works are in progress, are the Dansborg at Tranquebar, and the fort at Tanjore. At the former place under-pinning of dangerous walls and various other repairs have been done. At the Tanjore fort (Fig. 6) vegetation has been cleared from the ramparts, and the preservation of bastion No. 11 is in progress.

A. Rea.

KURANGUNATHAN TEMPLE, FROM NORTH.



CONSERVATION IN BURMA.



THE total amount of expenditure incurred on archæological works during the year 1908-09 was Rs. 18,282 as compared with Rs. 68,475 expended in 1907-08, and with Rs. 1,25,930 in 1906-07. The Imperial subsidy was likewise reduced

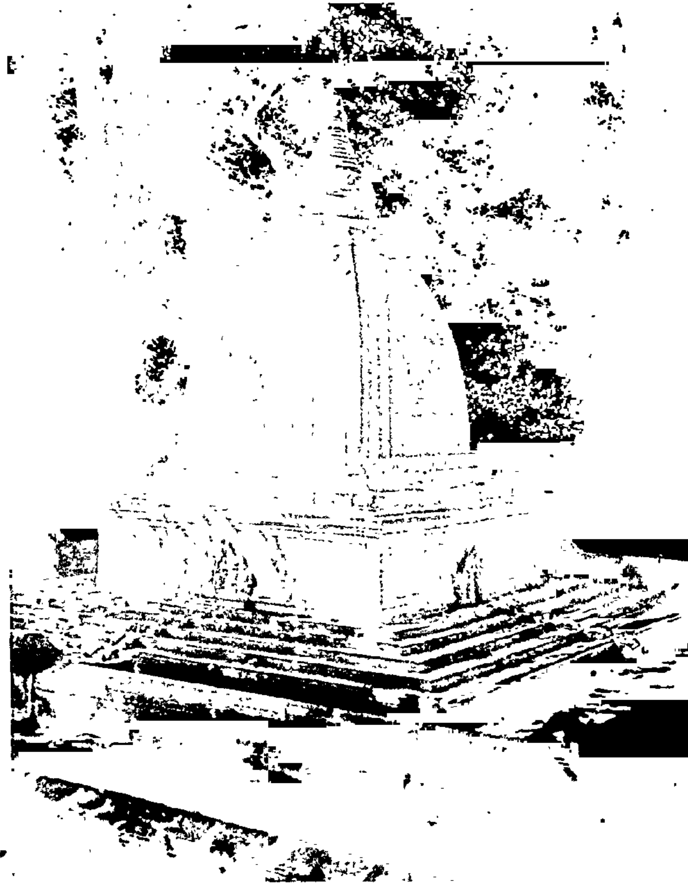


Fig. 1.

from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 8,307. As the archæological allotment had been reduced to

such narrow limits, most rigid economy had to be practiced, and costly special repairs to monuments had either to be held in abeyance or carried out piecemeal. The major portion of the allotment was devoted to annual repairs of an obligatory nature. Among the buildings, on which special repairs were carried out, the Pondawpaya of Mingun, Sagaing District, and the Mingalazedi of Pagan have been selected for illustration in the present report.

Before undertaking to build a pagoda of huge dimensions, it is customary among Burmans to construct a model, the architectural features of which are simply enlarged on the bigger edifice. In accordance with this custom, Bodawpaya, who reigned from 1781 to 1819 A.D., built the Pondawpaya, a structure 17 feet 5 inches high (Fig. 1) to serve as the model of the Mingun Pagoda (Plate IX), on which he spent much treasure and more than twenty years of his long reign. His great ambition was to " beat the record " in pagoda building among all Buddhist kings known to history; but foreign wars and domestic troubles prevented him from completing his project. In spite of the earthquake, which shattered it in 1838, its height is still 143 feet 10 inches, or about one-third of the height originally intended. Its probable dimensions, if completed, could be inferred from the Pondawpaya. This little structure consists of a solid dome resting on a square plinth of solid masonry, surmounted by a miniature *stūpa* and appears to be a hybrid between the Shwezigon and Ananda Pagodas of Pagan, which affords so many prototypes for Buddhist religious edifices throughout the country. It is adorned with all the appurtenances of a finished place of worship, namely, circuit walls, staircases, leogryphs, ornamented arches, etc. The remains of this interesting model Pagoda were conserved at a cost of Rs.198 and care was taken to perpetuate its existing features. In order to prevent the intrusion of cattle and the erosion by the floods of the Irrawaddy, a fencing and an earthen rampart enclosing the entire site were constructed at a cost of Rs. 669.

The following comparison between the known dimensions of the two buildings may be of interest :—

	Mingun Pagoda.	Pondawpaya.
Height of masonry plinth	104′ - 6″	2′ - 9″
Length of its side	240′ -	10′ -
Dome	(?)	6′ - 7″
Surmounting *stūpa*	(?)	6′ -

Sir Henry Yule[1] gives the following graphic description of these two monuments :—

" This ruin [Mingun Pagoda] is doubtless one of the hugest masses of solid brickwork in the world. It stands on a basement of five successive terraces of little height, the lower terrace forming a square of about 450 feet. From the upper terrace starts up the vast cubical pile of the pagoda, a square of about 230 feet in plan, and rising to a height of more than 100 feet, with slightly sloping walls. Above this, it contracts in successive terraces, three of which had been completed, or nearly so, at the time the work was abandoned.

" In one of the neighbouring groves is a miniature of the structure, as it was intended to be. From this we see that the completed pile would have been little less

[1] *Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*, pp. 169 f.



than 500 feet high. The whole height of the ruin as it stands is about 165 feet from the ground, and the solid content must be between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of cubic feet of brickwork.

" The fracture that has taken place is tremendous, and the effects of earthquake are seen on a scale that rarely occurs. The whole mass is shattered, torn, and split. Masses of wall 100 feet in height, and from 10 to 20 in thickness, appear as if they had been bodily lifted from their bases and heaved forward several feet. The angles have chiefly suffered, and these are fallen in a vast pile of ruin ; blocks of coherent brickwork, as big as small houses, lying heaped in hideous confusion on one another.

" The whole thing is a perfect geological phenomenon."

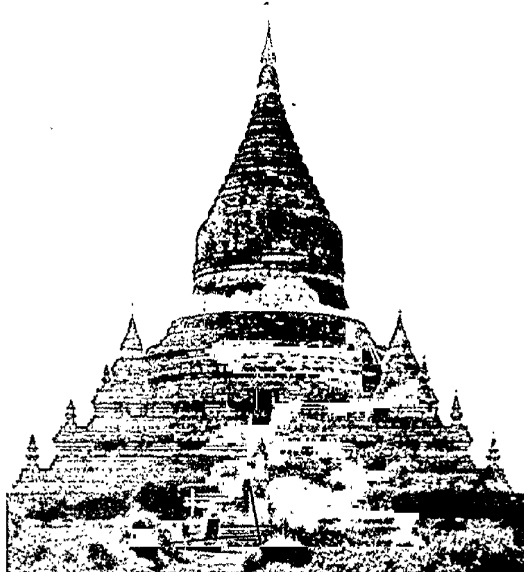


Fig. 2.

The Mingalazedi Pagoda (Fig. 2) was built by Tayokpyemin, King of Pagan, in 1274 A.D., and indicates the zenith of Burmese religious architecture. The Burmese empire was subverted by the Mongols under Kublai Khān in 1284 A.D. It was shattered to pieces, and never recovered its former grandeur and magnificence.[1] A stone inscription found within the walls of the Pagoda records the following ceremony:

" On Sunday, the 6th, waxing of Tabaung 630 Sakkaraj (1268 A. D.) King Narathihapade (Tayokpyemin), whose title is Siri-tribhavanāditya-pavara-dhammarājā, who is the supreme commander of the vast army of 36 million soldiers, and who is the consumer of 300 dishes of curry daily, being desirous of attaining the bliss of Nirvāṇa, erected a pagoda. Having done so, the King enshrined within it 51 gold and silver statuettes of kings, queens, ministers, and maids of honour, and over these an image of Gautama Buddha in solid silver, one cubit high, on Thursday, the full-moon of Kason 636 Sakkaraj (1274 A. D.) On that occasion a covered way

[1] *Vide* Yule's *Marco Polo*, Chapter LIV, Volume II.

was erected extending from the palace to the pagoda. Bamboo mats were laid along this. Over these rush mats were spread, and over these again pieces of cloth, each 20 cubits in length, were laid; and at each cubit's distance of the way banners were placed. During the ceremony the princes, princesses and nobles threw a large number of pearls among the statuettes, and the pagoda was formally named the Mingalazedi."

The Pagoda stands on a raised platform, and its triple terrace is adorned with terra-cotta plaques depicting scenes from *Jātaka* stories. The small subsidiary shrines at the corners of the third terrace are entirely covered with green enamelled tiles. The bricks, with which the retaining walls are built, are stamped with Talaing letters, and the dimensions of each are 18″ by 9″ by 3″. Efforts were made to procure a complete set of the inscribed bricks, without dismantling any portion of the walls, but this proved to be impossible.

The thick jungle found growing within the precincts, and the *débris* were cleared, both the Pagoda and the surrounding walls made water-tight, and the steps facing the east repaired at a total cost of Rs. 9,809. The shrine is still an object of worship, and the iron *htī* now crowning it was placed in position by the villagers of Pagan in 1908. Under the Burmese *régime*, the crowning by commoners, of a pagoda built by a royal personage, would have been considered high treason, and the concession of this privilege is now greatly appreciated throughout the country.

TAW SEIN KO.

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

THE year under review has been especially fruitful in discoveries, including some of unusual historical interest. Foremost in antiquity ranks the Garuḍa pillar of Bēsnagar in Gwalior State, which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1877, but the real significance of which has only been revealed since Mr. Marshall's visit to the spot in January 1909. The third section of the present volume contains a special contribution on this discovery, with the text and version of the inscription now agreed upon by the best authorities on Indian epigraphy.

Later in date, but by no means secondary in antiquarian interest, is the now famous Buddhist relic-casket exhumed from the ruin of the great *stūpa* of Kanishka near Peshawar. The discovery of this monument—the clue of which was given by M. Alfred Foucher in his brilliant study of the ancient geography of Gandhāra—has shown how much can be achieved by patient and systematic research. The excavations carried out by Dr. Spooner on that site in 1907-8 had not yielded any certain results. They were resumed in the year under review and led to the discovery not only of Kanishka's monument, the largest *stūpa* of Northern India, but also of the relics which it contained. The relics, according to the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang, were believed to be corporeal remains of Gautama Buddha, and have therefore been made over to the Buddhist community of Burma to be worthily enshrined in a new pagoda at Mandalay. I may refer the reader to the detailed account of the excavation of S̲hāh-jī-kī-Ḍhērī, the modern name of the site, which Dr. Spooner has contributed to this Report.

Here I wish briefly to note the special interest of both the inscribed objects just mentioned for the history of Greek, or rather Hellenistic, influence in the Indian Continent. The Bēsnagar pillar was set up by one Hēliodōros, who calls himself "a Greek ambassador from King Antialkidas to King Bhāgabhadra." It clearly shows in what manner, about the middle of the second century B.C., Greek influence could penetrate from the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom in the North-West to the Hindu States of Central India. It is the earliest known architectural monument of the contact of these two great civilisations of Asia and Europe.

The relic-casket of Kanishka, on the other hand, exhibits the Hellenistic influence on Indian art in the final stage of its remarkable action. It seems that the

Kharōshṭhī inscription mentions a Greek artist, at least one bearing a Greek name The decoration of the casket shows a curious blending of classical and Indian elements, familiar to us from Gandhāra sculpture. It points to a time when the graceful plant of Greek art transplanted on Indian soil had become choked by the luxuriant growth of indigenous culture. It appears from the inscription that this period of artistic decline was the reign of the great Kanishka, whose effigy figures prominently on the casket.[1] The thorny problem of his exact date may here be left out of discussion. This much is certain that, whatever patronage Kanishka and his successors may have extended to Buddhist building, the great flourishing period of Gandhāra art had then passed away.

A study of the closely allied art of ancient Mathurā has led me to the same conclusion. I had hoped to continue here my paper on the Mathurā school of sculpture published in the Annual for 1906-7.[2] But the fresh discoveries of sculptures and inscriptions made by Pandit Radha Krishna are so numerous that I have been obliged to postpone this work for another year. In the present volume, however, I have included a note on some Nāga images which have come to light in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. The circumstance that several of these are inscribed has enabled us to trace their historical development, which is found to end by the ancient Nāga figures being worshipped as Baladēva, the elder brother of Kṛishṇa.

In my previous paper dealing with the Mathurā school of sculpture I had pointed out that this school had exercised considerable influence on the development of Buddhist art in the Gangetic Plains. This is confirmed by the discovery of a fragmentary Bōdhisattva statue found in the course of Mr. Marshall's excavations on the ancient site of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in the Bahraich and Gonda districts of the United Provinces. In a well-preserved inscription incised on the base it is stated that this image was carved by a sculptor from Mathurā.

This inscription, which is being edited in the present volume by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, confirms moreover the identity of the ancient sites of Mahēṭh and Sahēṭh with the famous city of Śrāvastī and the adjoining Buddhist establishment of the Jētavana, both these places being mentioned in the inscription. It will be remembered that this is the fourth epigraphical record found on the spot which confirms General Cunningham's brilliant identification. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that the long-disputed problem of the situation of Śrāvastī has thus been finally solved.

Mr. Marshall's operations[3] embraced the whole of Sahēṭh and the group of ruins consisting of Ōṛā Jhār, Khaṛahuā̃ Jhār and Panahiyā Jhār and some other monuments. In the Khaṛahuā̃ Jhār, which is a *stūpa* built entirely of brick, was found a very primitive relic receptacle assigned by him to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. He was unable to penetrate to the centre of the Ōṛā Jhār, his work being stopped by a brick *stūpa* of about the 9th century A.D., which came to light a few feet below

[1] It is interesting to compare the gold relic-casket from a *stūpa* at Bimaran near Jalālābād, now preserved in the British Museum. It is much more classical in design than the Pēshāwar casket. Coins dating from about 50 B. C. were found on the same spot. *Cf.* Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 71, and Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 144, pt. 1.

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1906-7, pp. 137 ff.

[3] A full account of Mr. Marshall's excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh and at Mandir will appear in the next Annual.

the top of the mound. The mound itself is composed of clay and Mr. Marshall considers it to be a pre-historic monument like those at Rāmpurvā and Lauriyā. The Panahiyā Jhār, which Dr. Hoey believed to be a cockpit, is also a brick *stūpa* with its core made of pounded clay. No relics were found in it.

At Sahēṭh itself, Mr. Marshall unearthed a number of *stūpas* near the monastery in which the copper-plate of Gōvinda-chandra had been found in the previous winter. The earliest of these *stūpas* go back to the Kushaṇa period. The middle portion of the site was in ancient days occupied by an extensive lake. In the northern portion of the site, Mr. Marshall completely excavated the monastery around temple No. 1 and brought to light a number of other buildings to its west. To the east of No. 2 there came to light a broad approach with a variety of structures on and along it. The date of the approach and of these structures was determined by a number of copper coins found in an earthen pitcher in one of these buildings. All these coins are of the Kushaṇa King, Vāsudēva, with the exception of one which is of Kanishka, two of which may be assigned to Huvishka, and one of a king of Ayōdhyā, presumably Āyumitra.

Mr. Marshall also did some digging at the old fort of Maṇḍōr, but the results achieved were less satisfactory than was expected, though still of considerable interest. The entire mass of ruins in the fort is of a very late date, but in the south-east corner Mr. Marshall unearthed a Brahmanical temple which was originally founded about the 8th century A.D. It was re-built and added to first about the 10th and again about the 12th century A.D. It is now clear that the two sculptured door-jambs which were described by Mr. Bhandarkar in the Annual for 1905-6 did not originally belong to this temple. Among portable antiquities there was a much mutilated 12th century inscription of Sahaja-pāla, the chief of the Naḍḍula branch of Chāuhān (Chāhamāna) Rājpūts. This inscription is of interest, as it supplies a few new names of the clan.

The excavations carried out in 1897 by Mr. Cousens on the site of Manṣūra in Sind showed that the Muhammadan city of that name was built on the ruins of the Hindu city of Brāhmanābād.[1] This conclusion has been confirmed by the explorations of the year under review. They were confined to two spots. The first was the site of a very large mosque, probably the Jāmi Masjid of the Moslem city of Manṣūra. All that remained of this building was a row of heavy brick foundations, each of which must have carried a pair of square pillars, or more probably wooden posts. Beneath these remains were found drains and "libation slabs" which Mr. Cousens believes may have belonged to a Brahmanical or Buddhist temple, on the ruins of which the mosque was raised. Parallel cases in many a city of Northern India render it highly probable that the main mosque of Manṣūra stood on the ruins of the chief temple of Brāhmanābād, but the somewhat scanty remains of the supposed Hindu shrine unearthed by Mr. Cousens seem hardly to justify us in considering his otherwise plausible theory as being finally proved.

The other spot selected for excavation was the Thūl (Skr. *sthūla* ?) or Tower, a pile of brickwork rising some 36′ above the surrounding ground level. The exact nature of this structure is somewhat doubtful, but the discovery of carved bricks led

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, pp. 132 ff.; pl. XLIV—L.

Mr. Cousens to assume that originally it had been a Buddhist *stūpa* which had been rebuilt in later times. A clearing of the basement would probably settle this point.

In the course of his paper on this excavation Mr. Cousens disposes of a theory started by a previous explorer, according to whom certain objects found on the site would represent chessmen. Mr. Cousens puts it beyond doubt that the supposed chessmen were in reality little balusters or spindles of some furniture rails. It will be hardly necessary to remark that this argument does not, of course, in any way affect the antiquity and Indian origin of the game of chess which are sufficiently proved by its Sanskrit name *chaturaṅga* originally meaning "[the] four-membered [army]" which was introduced with the game into Persia where it became changed into *shaṭranj*.

The disappointing nature of the results at Manṣūra-Brāhmanābād were due in some measure to the fact that the materials of the older cities were found to have been largely utilised in building the later ones. The ancient Hindu city was evidently not destroyed by a sudden cataclysm but was gradually deserted, with the result that no valuables came to light in the course of excavation.

One of the best known Buddhist monuments in the Dakhin is the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī (on the right bank of the Krishna river) of which numerous sculptures are preserved in the British Museum. In the seasons 1888 and 1889 this site was re-examined by Mr. Rea and again in 1905-06. In the course of these excavations numerous sculptural fragments and minor antiquities were found. In the year under review Mr. Rea has made some further explorations on the north and north-west of the mound at some distance from the centre of the main *stūpa*. They yielded again a number of sculptures, unfortunately mostly in a very fragmentary state. A find of some interest was a golden relic-casket which apparently had been contained in one of the minor *stūpas* surrounding the main monument. That it had escaped the notice of previous diggers was evidently due to the circumstance of its being placed in an earthenware jar which was completely hidden within a lump of mortar. Another interesting discovery was a collection of bronze Buddha statuettes which had been previously dug up by treasure-seekers, but left on the spot out of superstitious fear.

Perhaps the most important question connected with Mr. Rea's researches is the date of a group of neolithic graves which were found partly hidden by one of the minor *stūpas* and which, consequently, must be earlier in date than this building. Unfortunately the date of this *stūpa* cannot be fixed with certainty, as it may have been either anterior or posterior to the main monument. If we assume that it is approximately contemporaneous with this building (which was constructed about A.D. 170), it would follow that the neolithic graves cannot belong to a period some centuries subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, as is generally supposed, but must be considerably earlier.

Mr. Rea also examined a prehistoric site at Perambair in the south of the Chingleput district, which yielded an important collection of cists, pottery, and stone and iron implements.

The present section also includes a report on the sepulchral tumuli of Awāl, the main island of the Bahrain group in the Persian Gulf, by the Political Agent, Major F. B. Prideaux. The writer of the report excavated several of these mounds in

1906-7 and 1907-8 at the instance of the Director-General of Archæology in India, the Government of India having placed the necessary funds at his disposal for the purpose. Major Prideaux's report includes an interesting account of the history and geography of the group of islands, which once belonged to the famous state of the Karmathians. The existence of a sea-borne trade between Baḥrain and India is attested by the Arabic poet Garīr who compared the morning clouds to "a ship from India which enters the port of Awāl." The excavation of the mounds, though evidently conducted with considerable care, was disappointing in that it has yielded no clue as to the origin of these sepulchres which have puzzled several explorers. The finds consist mostly of pottery, which has very little distinctive character about it. The material differs in no particular from modern rough-ware—the red-baked clay and buff ware like the *kūzas* that come down from the Persian Gulf at the present day.

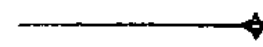
The objects discovered by Major Prideaux in the course of his excavations will be deposited in the Prince of Wales' Museum at Bombay.

J. PH. VOGEL.



Fig. 1. Pagoda Mound before excavation.

EXCAVATIONS AT SHĀH-JĪ-KĪ-DHĒRĪ.



AMONG the many monuments of ancient India mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims of the early centuries of our era, one of the most important was the great *stūpa* of King Kanishka the Kushaṇa, which he is said to have erected near his capital city of Purushapura. The pilgrims describe it in great detail, and are agreed in calling it the loftiest and most magnificent of the pagodas of India. But curiously enough all trace of this building was lost, and no plausible theory as to its location even was advanced until M. Foucher published his " Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra."[1] In this he drew attention to two large mounds outside the Ganj Gate of Peshāwar City which seemed to him to answer very closely to the accounts given by the pilgrims, and he tentatively identified them with the Kanishka-chaitya of history for the following reasons.

[1] *B. E. F. E. O.* Tome I (1901) pp. 322 ff. on the Kanishka-chaitya, *vide* pp. 329 ff.

Assuming that the ancient city of Purushapura stood essentially on the same spot as the modern Peshâwar, the general situation of the mounds is in sufficiently close agreement with the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims.[1] We are moreover told that, attached to the main pagoda on the west, Kanishka built a vast monastery. The relative position of the two mounds at Shāh-ji-kī-Dhērī agrees exactly with this description. The mound to the east, furthermore, has all the appearance of being the remains of a *stūpa*, while the general outlines of the immense mound to the west suggest a monastic quadrangle on an exceptionally large scale. And the extent of the mounds is of course another link in the chain of evidence. The famous *pipal* tree which is said to have marked the site from the days of Kanishka himself to those of the Emperor Bābar, is not to be found, but M. Foucher rightly points out the futility of seeking for it now. But to the north of Shāh-ji-kī-Dhērī, in the place where one would naturally look for this tree, is a small octagonal temple still the scene of Hindu worship. The significance of this fact, as well as that of the presence of the *ziyārat* of Rōshyan Shāh to the south, M. Foucher has not failed to note. And when it is added that the excavations carried out by Sappers and Miners in 1875 proved conclusively the Buddhist nature of the buried monuments,[2] as well as the fact that they had been destroyed by fire,—a point reiterated by the Chinese pilgrims,—it is plain that M. Foucher's reasons for his tentative identification were very strong, so strong, indeed, that I was led to feel it both a duty and a privilege to give the site that examination which he himself unfortunately was unable to undertake.

The fact that the main pagoda had been repeatedly destroyed by lightning, and as often rebuilt, led M. Foucher to suggest that in any further exploration of the site search should be made in the first instance for the hundred little *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen-Thsang as standing to right and left of the pagoda, as it seemed possible that they might have escaped the destruction that overwhelmed the main monument, and the discovery of even their foundations in the position indicated would be strong confirmation of the identification proposed. And this suggestion was followed in the operations under discussion. But although Hiuen-Thsang says that these little *stūpas* stood to right and left of the main pagoda (that is to north and south, as it is known that the face of the building was to the east), he nowhere gives any hint as to how far distant they were from it, nor was there anything in the nature of the site itself to determine any point either to north or south where one could start digging towards the

[1] The pilgrims differ in their statements from the "4 *li* to the east" of Tao-Yung to the "8 or 9 *li* to the south east" of Hiuen-Thsang (*cf.* Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 99 and *passim*). But the differences are unimportant, after all, and are probably to be explained, as M. Foucher says, by the fact that their starting points varied.

[2] It is interesting to note that General Cunningham also appears to have identified Shāh-ji-kī-Dhērī as the site of Kanishka's monument. This is evident from a *Report on the Explorations at Mound Shahji-ka-Dheri near Peshawar by a detachment of the Sappers and Miners under the command of the late Lieutenant C.A. Crompton, R.E.*, dated 30th March 1875 (in *Punjab Government Gazette, Supplement*, 18th November 1875). At the end of his Report, Lieutenant Crompton remarks:—"Taking into account the poor and scanty nature of discoveries, I am of opinion (1) that this is not the site of the Stupa of King Kanishka, *as supposed by General Cunningham*; (2) that it certainly is not worth while continuing the explorations here." In view of Dr. Spooner's discoveries, the conclusions of the previous excavator are somewhat amusing. But it is gratifying that here again the great pioneer of Indian archæology has shown his remarkable insight in questions of ancient topography. I must add that Cunningham had previously identified Kanishka's monument with the Gor Katri in Peshawar City. Unfortunately he published only his first conjecture (*A. S. R.*, Vol. II, p. 89) and not the second one which has proved to be correct. [E.]

mound with the certainty of crossing these buildings. The arrangement of these little *stūpas* was another difficulty; did they extend generally north and south from the pagoda, or were they grouped on either side in lines extending east and west? Presumably the latter, for we notice in the case of other monastic sites in this Province that such buildings are usually erected as near the sacred centre of the whole as possible, and any alignment north and south would seem to violate this principle. At the same time, one can seldom speak with certainty of the position of buried monuments and it was necessary to keep all possibilities in view. Another difficulty was our ignorance as to their relative distances. Were they built all in one huddled mass, as at Jamālgaṛhī, or were they separated one from another like the majority of those in the lower court at Takht-i-Bāhī? To this question there was no conclusive answer, and in order to meet all possibilities, in so far as we could, it was decided to begin the work as follows :—

Taking a fairly central point at the base of the main pagoda mound, on its southern face—for the country to the south presented fewer difficulties for excavation than that to the north, and there is nothing in Hiuen-Thsang's account to make the one direction seem more promising than the other,—five trenches were started, each six feet in width and, at first, 100 feet in length. Of these five the central one was led due south, and the others to the south-east and the south-west, respectively, at increasing angles, so as to pass through any alignment running east and west in such a way as to allow for irregular distances between the monuments, and also, by extending them far enough, to cross a possible alignment north and south.

Work was begun on the 16th January 1908, after arrangements had been made with the owners with the assistance of Major Rawlinson, the Deputy Commissioner, but for the first few days we could not get the desired number of coolies and the work progressed slowly. Meanwhile repeated examination of the low mound running north and south along the road which skirts the eastern edge of the site had been rewarded by the finding of one or two fragments of Gandhāra sculpture. For this reason, as soon as our full complement of 120 coolies was secured, I put one of my six sections of 20 men each at the work of cutting into this mound from the north, but after several days' fruitless digging the undertaking was temporarily abandoned and the men put to other work as to be shown hereafter.

As the five original trenches were continued and I saw what a depth of surface soil had to be cut through (for the practice of strewing the fields with the earth of the mound for purposes of fertilization has given an unusual depth to the fields in question) I decided to have two sections seek to discover, if possible, the levels underground, with a view to continuing the trenches one by one if need be, and thereby possibly economize. For it was of course conceivable that the very first trench would give us the clue desired. The men in the central one of the trenches running southwest were accordingly told to sink a pit at a point some 70 feet from the starting point, and another section was placed directly in front of the mound to the east in the hope that they might discover the pavement which it was natural to assume led to the entrance of the monument. But, to my disappointment, this pit was sunk some fifteen feet with entirely negative results. For the first foot or so the soft free earth of the wheat field was passed; then came a stratum some two feet thick of tightly

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS
AT
SHAHJI-KI-DHERI
1908-09
SCALE 30 FEET = 1 INCH
CULTIVATION
CULTIVATION
CULTIVATION
CULTIVATION
PAGODA
MOUND
MAIN MOUND
TRIAL PITS
GRAVE YARD
GRAVE YARD
Detail A.
References
Blue shows high level
Yellow shows slightly lower level
Red shows low level
Black shows lowest level
Superintendent.
Archaeological Survey.

packed *débris* among which one copper coin (too badly corroded to be recognized) and a few small and very badly damaged sculptural fragments were found. But below this the pit passed again into perfectly free earth to the depth mentioned above, when the work was stopped and the men placed afresh.

For in the meantime the former section had been more successful. Going down at the point indicated, a portion of a massive wall had been found at a depth of eight feet. Of great strength and solidity and nearly eight feet in width, it was obviously a most important clue, and its massiveness as well as its position due east and west at a fair distance from what seemed a probable situation for the pagoda, seemed to justify the hope that we had recovered the main retaining wall of the rectangular platform from which the *stūpa*-plinth arose. And the hope was strengthened by the apparent fact that a platform extended from the inner edge of this wall toward the north at the point already uncovered. Reasoning in this way, therefore, I put my entire company at digging a monster trench east and west in alignment with the portion of the wall already found. But the earth was everywhere so packed with brick-bats and *débris* of all kinds that the work was both slow and costly, and it was only by degrees that the deceitfulness of my hopes became apparent.

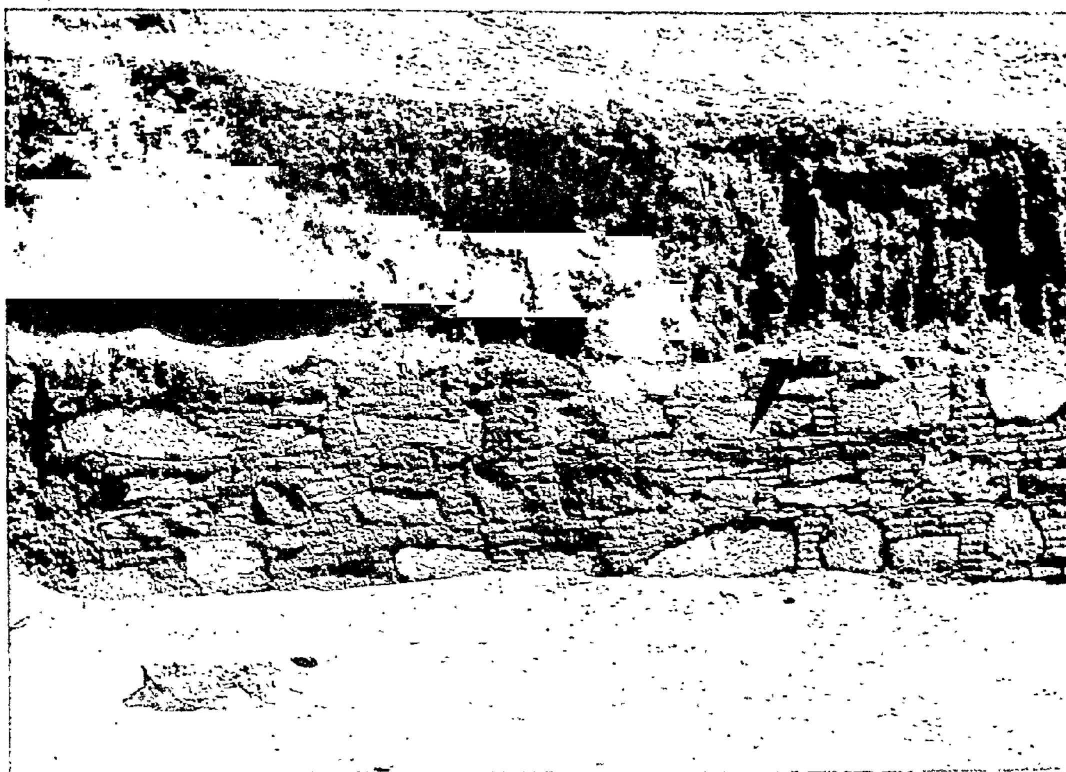
On deepening the trench in front of the first stretch of wall discovered, it became clear that the latter rested on a brick pavement, and rose to a maximum height of some four feet. The eastern end appeared to be broken away, and was found to be followed by a circular paved platform some 6 feet in diameter on a level with the pavement aforementioned. At first, therefore, I did not despair of finding the wall continued beyond this, and assumed that it might have been broken here and there by towers now in a wholly ruined state. But this proved not to be the case. For instead of being a mere break in a continuous wall, as had been thought, the eastern end of the stretch first found proved to be the broken south-east corner of a square structure, with a corresponding broken corner at the south-west, and other walls running north to meet the one on the north parallel to that first discovered. The width of eight feet, furthermore, was found to extend for only half the length of this wall, which was only some four feet wide throughout the remainder of its course. The first supposed platform, again, was found to be merely the floor of one of the two rooms or apartments into which the building was divided, the room to the west within the wider portion of the wall being paved with cobblestones, and that on the east covered with a stucco pavement painted red and extending right up to the eastern edge of the whole, in such a way as to lead to the conclusion that this was a sort of porch or portico giving access to the former room, which, from the large number of charred sculptural fragments, appears certainly to have been a Buddhist shrine.

As regards construction, the building was very interesting, as it showed the usual features of Gandhāra masonry carried out in novel materials. Elsewhere in this Province walls of the early period are built up of large irregular blocks of slate whose interstices are filled with neat piles of smaller fragments of the same material. At Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī the same principles of construction are met with, but the large blocks are of roughly dressed stone and the piles of slate are replaced by piles of

small bricks, fitted to the irregularities of the main stones with great skill and cleverness. The explanation of this peculiar form seems to be that in Peshāwar the slate schist commonly found elsewhere was not readily procurable. At monasteries like Takht-i-Bāhī, etc., the material lay ready to hand, and doubtless explains the origin of the style as a whole. In Peshāwar the style was naturally followed, but those materials were used which were most easily obtainable. That the divergence from the normal type does not necessarily imply decadence or even a very late date is interestingly shown by the fact that the very building under discussion shows a platform on the north side which is built in the usual way, it being clear from the position of the structure that it cannot be older than the main building. Obviously such a use of stone and brick could not have arisen until the Gandhāra style was firmly established, but there is no evidence to show that it was due to decay or decadence (*cf.* Plate XI, *a*).

At the northern side of the platform just mentioned was a short flight of two steps leading to a pavement in part composed of stucco, and on the same level as the brick pavement to the south. Along this pavement and in line with the east and west walls of the shrine, two parallel trenches were then dug to see if other neighbouring buildings could be found, and the edge of the first pavement also was cleared for a space of some six feet with the same object, but without success. In the more westerly of the two parallel trenches, however, the foundations of two buildings side by side were recovered, but unfortunately no clue to their original nature or purpose was found. On continuing the trenches to the north, furthermore, they both came upon another massive wall running east and west, but on attempting to follow it in these directions it was found to discontinue abruptly at both ends. Whether this was the southern wall of another building or merely a portion of a much longer wall continuing, beyond the break, to the east, at least, it was impossible to say with certainty. But no trace of any side walls running to the north could be found at either end, and the fact that our cuttings in both places showed that within this wall, and roughly following its height, all was a solid mass of cobblestones or water-worn pebbles, made it seem probable that the wall was a portion either of the outside of a large *stūpa* itself or of the solid platform from which the *stūpa* rose. But it was impossible to determine the question finally in the course of the first year's work, as the monument at this point lay well beneath the slope of the mound and digging was extremely slow and costly.

The only other remains of interest found the first year were a few bricks in alignment at the extreme west of the main trench, a round basement faced with stucco at the eastern end of the same, and a few small undecorated structures beyond this basement to the east. Owing to a very considerable slope in the land toward the east, which, however, was not apparent on the surface, these smaller buildings at first appeared to be on a much higher level than the other monuments. But on continuing the work the second year they were found to be really part of the same group. And, indeed, it is now evident that they are a few of the many little *stūpas* Hiuen-Thsang mentions. But although the work was continued at this part of the site some time after the rest of the excavation was closed, for the express purpose of determining this point, no conclusive evidence was found the first year. Indeed, up



(*a*) MAIN WALL OF STUPA, SOUTH-EAST END.



(*b*) A FEW OF THE LITTLE STUPAS ON THE SOUTH-EAST.

to the close of the first season's operations, the fact that a clay seal, inscribed with the Buddhist formula in characters which Dr. Konow assigned to the eighth or ninth century, was found in their immediate neighbourhood, was the only apparent link between them and the other monuments (*cf.* Fig. 2).

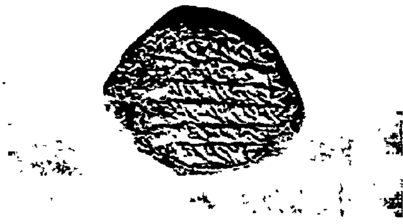


Fig. 2.

As for the sculptural remains found the first year, they were few and very inferior. The vast majority were stucco of an unpleasing and very debased type, which was nevertheless not lacking in interest, as the whole method of their manufacture seemed different from the ordinary, the limbs being modelled over thin sticks bound with thread, which is something I have never seen at any other site in this Province. Another noticeable feature was the fact that the pupil of the eye was regularly indicated, which is almost never the case in true Gandhāra work. All in all it seemed obvious that these fragments belonged to a definitely late period, which in the main might be called post-Gandhāra. A few small pieces of stone sculpture were recovered, of the familiar Gandhāra type, but no single specimen showed anything like the excellence of even the average fragments from Sahribahlōl or Ta<u>kh</u>t-i-Bāhī.

The numismatic evidence, again, was both meagre and unsatisfactory. Of the nine coins recovered, three were wholly illegible. One was a modern coin of no relevancy, two others were of the elephant and lion type of Śāhi coins, while the remaining three were of the Kushaṇa period.

Thus, up to the end of the first year's operations, practically nothing was found from which any large deductions would have been warrantable. It was undoubtedly a Buddhist site of great extent, but nothing had been recovered to determine the question whether it was Kanishka's *chaitya* or not.

The total expenditure incurred up to this point was R2,422-3-10, of which R2,299-14-4 was drawn from the Budget of the Public Works Department for 1907-8, including a sum of R1,000 kindly reappropriated for the purpose by the Commanding Royal Engineer, Peshāwar. The balance of R122-5-6 expended in April was drawn from my own office Budget for 1908-9.

The cost of the work in the second year was R4,296-14-3, all of which was very generously provided by the Director-General of Archæology out of Imperial funds.

It had been obvious the first year that the massive wall we had found on the north was of peculiar importance, and everything that was possible in the time and with the money at our disposal was done to trace its continuation, but without success. In beginning the work the second year, therefore, this was our main objective. As stated above, the wall terminated abruptly toward the east and could not be traced further on in that direction. But as was shown in the plan published with my Annual Report for 1907-8, we did find, instead of a continuation of this wall to the east, another smaller and rougher wall at right angles to it leading to

the south, but not connected with the main wall. Only the northern end of this minor wall was found the first year, and found so late in the season that it was impossible to explore it properly. But its relation to the main wall was a question of such interest that almost the first thing attempted on the resumption of the work was to ascertain the nature and significance of this fragment.

It seemed probable from the general roughness and unfinished appearance of the wall that it had not been meant to meet the eye. This could only mean either that the side we had met was the inside of the wall, with the eastern face dressed as the exterior (which was found not to be the case), or that it was an interior or strengthening wall, and this was made to appear the more probable by the fact that the cobbles which our cutting showed to be thickly packed against its western face were definitely laid and not the mere accumulation of *débris*. At the point of our cutting, however, no evidence of any parallel wall on the west had been found, and search was accordingly made a little to the south of the original trench which we had led east and west along the face of the main wall of the *stūpa*. Cutting into the bank at this southern point, therefore, we advanced carefully from the west toward the rough wall, and were rewarded in due time by meeting the parallel wall in question. This proved to be covered with stucco, and at the point first reached, sufficiently well preserved to show the original design of its decoration, namely, a line of seated Buddha figures separated one from another by Indo-Corinthian pilasters. This is of course a very familiar form of decoration, but the size of the figures was so much in excess of any I had hitherto seen in Gandhāra that it was made evident at once that we had to do with some structure considerably larger than any detached shrine would be. For this reason we did not attempt to turn any corner towards the east, when, after advancing a few feet towards the south, this stucco facing broke down and was lost, but continued clearing the line of it to the south, when isolated fragments of the foundation were recovered at intervals over a considerable length. As no sign of a corner appeared anywhere between the main wall of the *stūpa* and the large trench on the south parallel to it, cutting was then made in the northern side of this east-west trench in order, by advancing to the north, to meet the wall which, it was evident, must have led to the east at right angles to the decorated wall we had been following. This we fortunately found before going very far and proceeded to clear it in both directions, but especially towards the east to get our main lines as soon as possible. Meanwhile another stretch of the main *stūpa* wall had been met with much further to the east (*cf.* Plate XI (*a*)), in perfect alignment with the massive undecorated wall found in the previous year on the west, and this was also followed both east and west until it in turn was found to terminate abruptly at either end. In due time, however, the explanation of all this became clear. We found, when we reached the eastern end of the stucco façade on the south, that this façade turned to the north, then very soon again to the east, and then again to the north, in which direction it continued up to the line of the massive undecorated walls to east and west.

This decorated façade, therefore, formed a large projection leading south from the central portion of the main monument, with recessed corners at the south-east and south-west. This, of course, was an unexpected feature, and furnished us with

our first definite clue to the plan of the whole, and at the same time explained several things which had been puzzling the previous year.

Our search for the corner of the main wall on the east having been fruitless, an attempt was made to meet the corresponding projection on the east (for up to this time we had no knowledge of the size of the *stūpa* proper), and this was finally met after clearing a number of little *stūpas* and meeting with various detached buildings. It was hoped, of course, that by following the edge of this projection towards the west we should ultimately meet the main north-south wall on its eastern face, and thus be able to determine at least the south-east corner with precision. But the wall in question proved later to be completely broken down on both sides of the projection, which itself, however, is traceable in its entirety.

Trial diggings on the western side of the *stūpa* yielded more satisfactory results. Here the northern stretch of the main wall was soon found, and proved to be much better preserved, probably because the slope of the land from west to east had resulted in this portion of the monument being much more deeply buried, and therefore better protected from the vandalism of those bent on exploiting the ruins as a quarry. The wall was at first met at about its central point, from which it continued towards the north in excellent preservation, but broke down rapidly towards the south.

But the most interesting feature on the west was a discovery of a very well-preserved and very massive stone tower at the north-west corner. Whether this was the actual corner or merely an intermediate point in the façade was not certain until we could follow the curve and find how far it went toward the east and south, but as soon as this point was determined and the tower was shown to be the true corner, search was made for the diagonally opposite tower on the south-east at the point where, having no suspicion of a possible tower, we had searched for a normal corner. We had found originally one single stone on the ground-level projecting towards the south out of the eastern end of the main wall, but what the explanation of this was it had been quite impossible to guess. After the discovery of the north-west tower, of course, everything was clear. The single stone was seen to be a fragment of the south-east tower, and the appropriate curve was accordingly marked out and search made for any further traces of this lost tower which might prove to be preserved. Such traces were found, but they were very few and pitiful. Nevertheless, they were sufficient to prove the occurrence of a tower at this point, and to give us at last definite knowledge of the size and plan of the monument. For now we had both the north-west and the south-east corners, and could determine the true diagonal of the *stūpa* and draw the entire outline by simple measurement.

From this point the work was simple and the whole course of the western projection was speedily recovered and found to be the best preserved of all, the portion adjoining the main wall showing on both the north and south several Buddha figures in admirable condition (*cf.* Plate XIV (*a*)). But as in the case of the southern projection, this decoration was found to break down more and more as we advanced from the main body of the monument until nothing but the merest foundations were traceable.

Trial diggings on the north, commenced before these points were determined, had led only to the discovery of one rough wall running north and south. As soon

as the exact size and shape of the monument became known, this was seen to be the interior of the eastern supporting wall of the northern projection. But the point was not established in time to permit of our doing more than recovering the eastern face of this projection (which has here lost its stucco ornamentation) before the work was closed for the season. A portion of the main wall on the north at the western end near the north-west tower was recovered, and traces of the tower on both the north-east and the south-west also, but both were found to be badly damaged.

So far as the main monument is concerned, therefore, this season's work has given us the main wall on the south and west and a small portion on the north, with, however, no trace so far on the east, where the stones seem to have been removed. The eastern, the southern, and the western projections have been entirely cleared, and one side of the northern also, while all four towers have been set free to their foundations. It is, therefore, possible now to restore the ground plan of the monument with absolute certainty in so far as its main outline is concerned, and the actual recovery of the few portions now remaining hidden is a mere question of removing earth.

What the purpose of these projections was is not at present determinable with certainty. They seem too wide to have been steps merely, and the fact that the decoration on them is in one definite horizontal band seems to make against such a supposition. But that one or all of them *contained* steps is very probable, although no trace of them has as yet been found. At all events the projections appear from their structure not to be a later addition but an integral part of the original plan, and we are thus justified in including them in estimating the total size of the monument, which is thus found to have a diameter of 286 feet.

These, as Fergusson says of Martand, whose peristyle measures 220 feet, "are not dimensions to go wild about" in comparison with other famous monuments of antiquity, but in comparison with other known monuments *of this class* they are truly surprising. According to this same authority the great *stūpa* at Sānchi has a diameter of 106 feet, the Dhamēkh at Sārnāth has a stone basement 93 feet in diameter, while the famous *stūpa* of Amarāvatī measures only 35 feet. The first class topes in Afghanistan are said to measure usually something like 160 feet *in circumference*, say a diameter of 55 feet at the outside, while even the great Manikyāla *stūpa* in its diameter measures only 159 feet 2 inches. Thus among monuments of its own class (and of course comparison with any others is beside the mark) the *stūpa* at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī shows dimensions which are truly gigantic, making it far and away the largest monument of its kind known in India. There can, therefore, be absolutely no question as to its identity. M. Foucher's reasons for locating Kanishka's great *stūpa* and monastery at this site were so strong as to be all but convincing even as a pure hypothesis; but when to all his arguments is added the vital fact that the *stūpa* is demonstrably the largest in India, the last shadow of a doubt is removed, and we can say positively that Kanishka's *stūpa* has been recovered at last.

But this does not, unfortunately, mean to say that all the problems connected with it are solved. The location of the steps, especially on the east, is very desirable, and also the determination, if possible, of something in the nature of a pavement above the decoration on the projections. It is obvious that the dome of the *stūpa*, or

the main structure of the pagoda (if, as I imagine from the descriptions given in the Chinese pilgrims, the monument was really a transitional form between the simple *stūpa* and the Far Eastern pagoda), could not have itself risen from the projections. These probably formed approaches to the platform from which the dome of the *stūpa* rose, with, in all probability, a processional around it on this higher level. But so far this level has not been found. Nor would there be much hope of finding it in the present condition of the monument, were it not for the fact that the main wall seems to be complete at the north-west corner. Indeed, the top of the western wall, where it joins the north-west corner tower, appears to be definitely on a level with the top of the latter, and as this proved on being cleared to show something very like a pavement, it is possible that this portion of the site will furnish us the clue desired. The point is obviously an important one, for if it does prove possible to recover the higher platform, we may perhaps find at least traces of the base of the actual dome or other superstructure now buried beneath the mass of the mound, and this is, of course, the portion of the whole site which would be most likely to yield sculptural and other small remains.

The fact that on three sides the projecting portions of the base showed stucco ornamentation, while the main walls were everywhere quite undecorated, was for a time puzzling, and raised questions to which no certain answer was forthcoming until closer examination of the western projection solved the problem. Here, fortunately, the junction of the projecting walls with the main wall is preserved, and although the decoration on the main wall even here is lost, both the south-east and the north-east corners of the projection are sufficiently intact to prove conclusively that this decoration originally turned the corner and ran along the main wall as well, the evidence for which point has been duly registered photographically. It is curious that this decoration should everywhere have been lost on the main wall, but I believe there is a definite explanation for it notwithstanding. It is perfectly demonstrable, where the western projection joins on, that in the case of the main wall the surface was coated with a layer of earth (probably mixed with *chuna*) only about one foot thick. This rested on a kind of step of similar thickness skirting the whole wall, and over this coating of earth was laid the decorated facing of stucco, with the seated Buddha figures between Corinthian pilasters. In other words, the plaster decoration was very closely joined to the smooth surface of the wall, and has peeled off and disappeared in consequence. In the case of the projections, however, the depth of the earth intervening between the actual wall and the ornamental stucco facing is much greater. This means, of course, that the stucco facing was much better supported at these points, and is, in my opinion, sufficient to explain the otherwise curious fact that the plaster has been regularly preserved in the one case and regularly lost in the other. Why it is that even in the case of the projections the plaster is always better preserved near the main wall and more broken down as one advances from it is not quite clear, and I have no explanation to offer. It is, I think, certainly not an indication that the decoration was originally on a slanting line following the rise of possible steps, because wherever the decoration is preserved it shows only horizontal lines. Nor did these horizontal lines extend originally for only a fixed proportion of the length, and then a tapering decline begin, because at

one point on the extreme edge of the eastern projection portions of figures are preserved showing the same general dimensions.

The recovery of the diagonally opposite corners of the *stūpa* not only determined the size of the monument, and thereby confirmed the theory as to its identity, but it also made it for the first time possible to determine the exact centre and to make definite search for the relics which the Chinese pilgrims tell us Kanishka enshrined in this *stūpa*. It was, of course, doubtful whether they were still in position, and indeed it seemed almost improbable in view of the frequent tunneling and quarrying to which the mound had been subjected. But Hiuen-Thsang tells us definitely that Kanishka erected his " wonder of the world " to enshrine relics of Gautama Buddha himself, and so long as there was the remotest possibility of recovering authentic relics of such sanctity, the attempt seemed justified. Fortunately these corners were determined the very day before Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology, reached Peshāwar, whither he had come to aid me with his advice, and I thus had his guidance at the most important moment of all.

A large pit, 24 feet square, was outlined covering the exact centre of the monument, and then taken downwards. A few feet below the present surface of the mound, traces were found of the very massive radiating walls in the heart of the *stūpa*, and these greatly delayed the progress of the work, for we were anxious not to remove any portion of these walls unnecessarily. Avoiding these, therefore, as much as possible, the pit was taken down by slow degrees to a very low level without result. Indeed, after several days' digging we had got down to what seemed to be free earth, and had almost lost hope of finding any relics at all, when suddenly, and without warning, the remains of the relic chamber were reached at a point which proved to be two feet below the level of the brick pavement surrounding the *stūpa* as a whole.

What the exact structure of this chamber had been originally, it was unfortunately quite impossible to say. It was not in the exact centre, but a little more to the east, and appeared to have been built against the end of that one of the radiating central walls which ran due east from the centre of the *stūpa*. The chamber itself must originally have been roofed in some way, but this roofing, whatever it was, had completely disappeared, and the original open space was packed with earth. The chamber itself was of the rudest possible construction. A long, smooth slab of slate had been laid down extending in its length from north to south, and across the southern end of this was laid a heavy slab meeting at right-angles with another heavy slab along the western edge. These two thus formed two sides of a possible square, with the corner intact at the south-west. But no trace whatever could be found of any corresponding slabs on the east and north, and from the general position of the whole it is my opinion that the chamber was not enclosed on these sides save by the massive rubble masonry of the radiating walls to the east and north-east. This is, of course, a surprising fact and one which it is difficult to explain. But the fact as such is unquestionable. The eastern wall was penetrated to a considerable distance, but there was no trace of any continuation of the chamber, not even so much as a definite pavement of any kind. The whole thing seems to have been almost primitive in its rough simplicity Even the definite " floor " of

the chamber was not decorated or dressed anywhere except in the very corner where the relic casket stood. Here a little daub of *chuna* had been laid on, on which the casket had rested, and wherein its outline was found clearly impressed when the casket itself was removed, but the rest of the floor was the plain unadorned slab.

The relic casket itself, which was found standing upright in the south-west corner of the little chamber, as already mentioned, is a round metal vessel, 5 inches in diameter and 4 inches in height from the base to the edge of the lid. This lid originally supported three metal figures in the round, a seated Buddha figure in the centre (which was still in position), with a standing Bōdhisattva figure on either side. These two figures, as well as the halo from behind the Buddha's head, had become detached (probably at the time when the covering of the chamber collapsed, for the casket had evidently been subjected to some sudden shock from above, as is proved by the way the Buddha figure has been forced downwards, deeply denting the lid of the casket and even breaking the metal at one side), but all three fragments were recovered, one Bōdhisattva and the Buddha's halo close to the foot of the casket, and the second Bōdhisattva about 2 feet to the north. And these formed the entire contents of the chamber, although it should be noticed here that close beside it was found a single copper coin of Kanishka. The same shock apparently which dislodged the Bōdhisattvas loosened the bottom of the casket also, so that this dropped out as the upper part was lifted off the slab. And on this bottom was found a six-sided crystal reliquary measuring about $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, and beside it a round clay sealing which had been partially dissolved by the infiltration of water and had become detached from the crystal, but which still preserved traces of its original device, namely, an elephant standing to the right, which we may assume was the impression of the king's seal. This seal had originally closed the small round orifice which had been hollowed out to a depth of about an inch in one end of the six-sided crystal, and within which the sacred relics were still tightly packed. These consist of three small fragments of bone, and are undoubtedly the original relics deposited in the *stūpa* by Kanishka which Hiuen-Thsang tells us were relics of Gautama Buddha.

The casket itself which contained this crystal reliquary is of exceptional interest (*cf.* Plates XII and XIII). It was so covered with the corrosion of centuries when first found, that little could be made out of it, it being quite impossible to say whether it bore inscriptions or not. For this reason I proceeded with it to Simla, where the laborious task of cleaning it was performed under the personal guidance of Mr. Marshall, who generously devoted nearly two weeks to the work, with the most gratifying results. As cleaned, the casket is found to be composed of an alloy in which copper predominates, but it seems almost certainly to have been gilded originally. The main body of the casket, which is cylindrical, measures 5″ in diameter with a height of 4″, but on this body fitted a deep lid supporting the three figures in the round already mentioned, giving a total height of $7\frac{3}{4}''$. The only decoration of the upper surface of the lid consists of the incised petals of a full-blown lotus, but the deep lip which fits on to the top of the casket proper shows a highly ornamental band of geese or swans flying with wreaths in their bills, the whole being in low relief. As to the main body of the casket itself, the decoration consists of a series of three seated Buddha figures supported

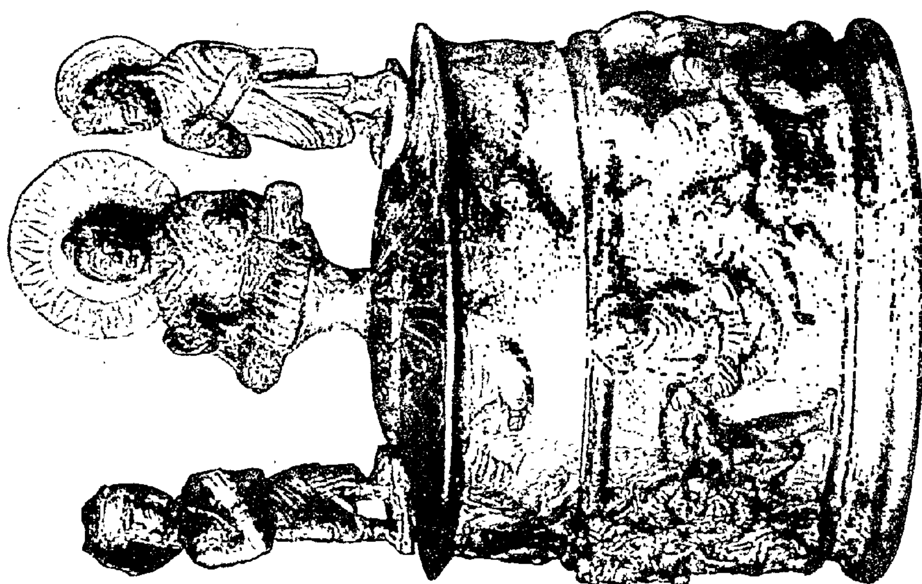
as it were, by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes[1] with larger worshipping figures at intervals leaning out of the background toward the Buddhas which device, extending continuously around the casket, terminates at a larger group of figures representing King Kanishka himself standing with an attendant on either side. Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me that the worshipping figures, which are five in number, are haloed and, therefore, must represent divine beings. The two nearest the king have haloes which assume the shape of a radiating sun and of a crescent respectively. These two figures he consequently identifies with the sun and the moon god which occur with similar distinctives on some of Kanishka's gold coins where they are inscribed *Miiro, Miaro*, etc. (*i.e., Mihira*) and *Mao*. On one coin we find both deities combined, Mihira to the proper left and Mao to the proper right, exactly as on the relic casket, the monogram occupying the place of the king in the centre.[2] It appears that each of the two figures on the casket holds a wreath in his right and a sceptre (?) in his left hand, as on some of the coins. The sun-god is evidently shown in the act of crowning Kanishka with his wreath, a well-known conception of Greek and Persian art. It is interesting that a similar device is found on the coins where the deity sometimes holds out a wreath (or in some cases a flame of fire, a purse or an empty hand) over the monogram. Presumably the monogram is the royal symbol, as almost invariably the deity is turned towards it. All these figures are in very high relief, and the design as a whole is admirable in the highest degree. In point of execution, however, as pointed out by Mr. Marshall, the casket shows manifest proof of artistic decadence, and thus enables us to affirm with certainty that the theory held by some writers that the Buddhist art of Gandhāra owed its origin to, or at least reached its prime, under Kanishka, is no longer tenable. That this is a definite step in advance is obvious. Kanishka's casket was certainly not produced until the school of Gandhāra had already reached its decline, and the only possible conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that in its origin the school was considerably older. For there is no doubt at all that this is Kanishka's casket. Not only have we the figure of the king agreeing in all details with the images occurring on his coins, but the inscriptions which have been brought to light by cleaning leave no doubt on the point. Punched into the metal in a series of faint dots, like the writing on the famous Taxila copper plate, these inscriptions occur on the upper surface of the lid, between the flying geese on the lower edge of the lid, and again in the level spaces above and below the figures in high relief decorating the main body of the casket. Major-General R. H. Mahon, Director-General of Ordnance, has been good enough to have the metal of the casket analysed, and writes as follows :—

"The resulting analysis of the bronze casket is :—

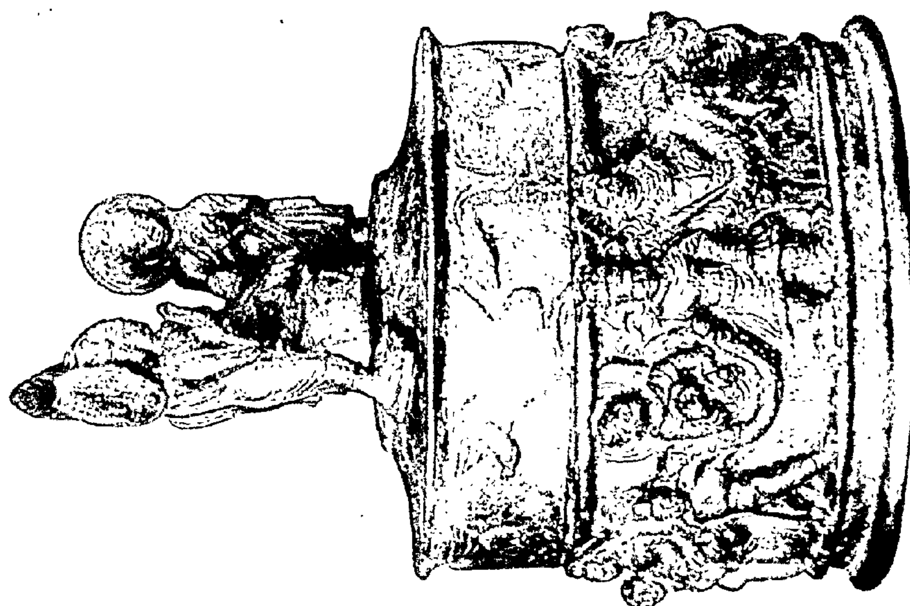
Copper	75·18 %
Tin	2·82 „
Lead	11·15 „
Zinc	6·68 „
Iron	0·23 „
Manganese	*Nil.*
Difference	3·94 „

[1] This device, probably borrowed from Hellenistic sarcophagi, is very common in the sculpture of Gandhāra. *Cf.* Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 148 f.

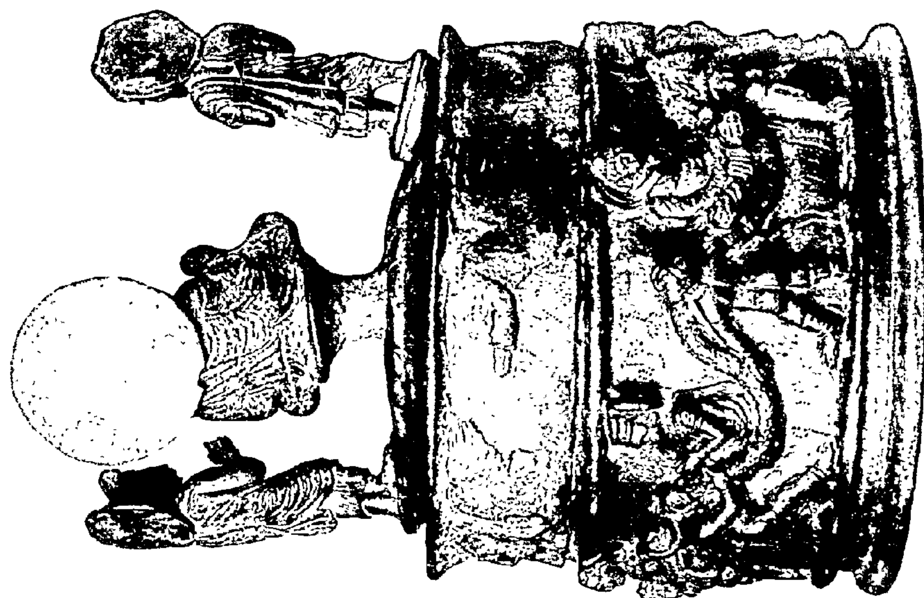
[2] *Cf.* Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India.* London 1886, pp. 139 ff., plates XXVI and XXVII.

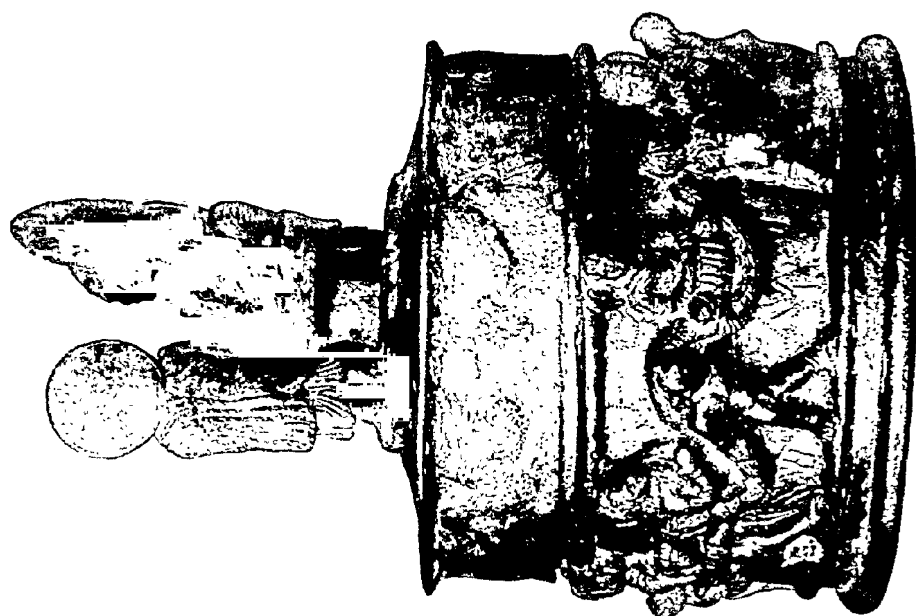


b.



THE RELIC-CASKET OF KANISHKA.





THE RELIC-CASKET OF KANISHKA.

"The latter item is rather large, but I imagine the amount of material at disposal was insufficient to enable a complete examination to be made.

"As you are no doubt aware, ordinary bronze coins of the Roman period contained, say:—

Copper	89 %
Tin	6 „
Lead	5 „

and the composition of the casket is therefore remarkable in containing an unusually large proportion of zinc, comparatively little tin, and a very high proportion of lead.

"The combination of both lead and zinc is remarkable though one or other is usual.

"An ancient arrow head is said to have contained—

Copper	70·3 %
Zinc	24·5 „
Lead	5·5 „

"Whether the large proportion of lead and zinc and the shortage of tin will enable you to compare the bronze of this casket with any other bronzes of the same period is an interesting problem."

The inscription on the upper surface of the lid begins just behind the Bōdhisattva standing on the proper right of the central Buddha, and reads:

Acharyana[ṁ] Sarvastivadina[ṁ] pratigrahe.

This is a well known Buddhist formula, and is usually translated "for the acceptance of the doctors of the Sarvāstivādin sect." All the *aksharas* here are quite clear and certain with the exception of the *ti* in *pratigrahe,* which might equally well be read as a *ri*. In cursive Kharōshṭhī, however, *ri* and *ti* are very easily confounded, and since the *pra* is certain, it seems better to read the *akshara* as *ti,* rather than assume the incorrect form *pra-rigrahe,* although the commonness of the form *parigrahe* in inscriptions would lend support to the reading *ri*.

The second line, which occurs along the lower lip of the lid, among the flying geese, is very faint indeed, and even quite eaten away in places, so that no connected reading is at present possible. But even so the name *Kanishka* appears definitely traceable.

The third and fourth lines occur in the level spaces above and below the figures in high relief around the main body of the casket, the letters being in places crowded together and difficult to decipher. But the reading seems practically certain. The upper inscription reads:

Deyadharmo sarvasattvana[ṁ] hidasuhartha[ṁ] bhavatu.

This is also a formula, meaning "may this pious gift adound to the welfare and happiness of all beings," and presents no difficulties. The nominative masculine in *o*, as well as the softening of *th* to *h* in *suharthaṁ* are familiar Prākṛit forms, and the *d* for *t* in *hida* (=Skt. *hita*) is paralleled in one of the inscriptions from Chārsada published by Dr. Vogel in the Annual of the Archæological Department for 1903-4,[1] and is otherwise known. The forms of the *aksharas rmo*

[1] In *chadudiśe*, p. 120.

and *tva* (or *ttva*), however, differ considerably from those shown in Bühler's tables. It is unfortunate that no facsimile can be given, but in general the former occurs as ꓤ and the latter as ƨ, which is nearest to the form shown in the tables as 38 column VII, though differing greatly in the length of the right hand stroke.

The fourth and last of the epigraphs, however, is the most interesting of those so far deciphered, and reads:

Dasa Agiśala navakarmi[1] *Kanashkasa vihare Mahasenasa saṁgharame.*

The *ka* of *Kanashkasa* is practically the only *akshara* in the whole epigraph about which there is any doubt at all, and this is largely due to the fact that it is so jumbled together with the preceding conjunct *rmi* that it is difficult to separate the dots. With this possible exception there can be no doubt as to the reading, and I would propose, therefore, to translate the whole:

"The slave (or servant) Agiśala, the overseer of works at Kanishka's *vihāra* in the *saṅghārāma* of Mahāsēna."

The word *vihāra* here seems to have rather the force of *stūpa* or temple, and the only logical deduction from the epigraph appears to be that at the time when this casket was made for Kanishka he was erecting merely a *stūpa* in connection with a monastic establishment already in existence on the site. Who Mahāsēna was I am unable to say, but the inscription clearly points to the real circumstances having been as mentioned above, and it should be added that there is certainly no reason to doubt that they were so. The gigantic monastery of which Hiuen-Thsang speaks, and of which we seem to have definite traces on the west of the pagoda, may very well have been erected by Kanishka at a later date. He would naturally have built his *stūpa* first, and the old name of Mahāsēna would as naturally have been lost after once Kanishka's own monastery was established. It is true, of course, that the legends recounted by the Chinese pilgrims to explain Kanishka's erection of the *stūpa* seem to imply that the site was more or less wild, and certainly unoccupied up to that time. But these particular legends are so manifestly overgrown with myth that they cannot have any serious weight in the face of the definite statement made in the inscription. For there cannot be the slightest real doubt as to either the reading or the meaning of the epigraph.

The occurrence of the Greek name Agiśala is another interesting point. That artisans did find their way to Indian Courts from the Occident in the first century of our era is well illustrated by the legend of St. Thomas, who is said to have been ordered by our Lord to proceed to the Court of Gondophares, and, indeed, nothing could have been simpler than the employment of Hellenistic workmen with the Greek principalities of Bactria in the immediate neighbourhood. For even if Greek rule in Bactria did disappear with Hermaios there is no reason to suppose that the Greek population disappeared at the same time. The prevalence of the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra under the Kushaṇa rulers shows conclusively that such artists or artisans were employed, so that the mention of a Greek on Kanishka's casket entirely agrees with the facts as we know them. But that such employment of Greek workmen must have been commoner in the first century before Christ or

[1] The term *navakarmika* occurs in the form *navakarmi* on the Taxila plate of Patika and in the form *navakarmiya* in the Manikyāla inscription. *Cf.* Lüders, *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, pp. 663 f.

in the first Christian century, than in the third, is obvious, and the definite mention of a Greek in Kanishka's employ may reasonably be looked upon as a slight confirmation of the view held by those scholars who prefer to date Kanishka earlier. It would certainly be surprising to find a Greek at Kanishka's Court, if, as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, Kanishka reigned from 278 A. D. As for the name Agiśala, Mr. Marshall has kindly sent me the following note: "The form 'Αγησίλας occurs in the last paragraph of Cap. 18 of the VIIIth Book of Pausanias, where he is mentioned as a man of Lusi, who was victor in the Pythian festival held by the Amphictyons. The forms 'Αγεσίλας and 'Αγεισίλας also occur, the latter in a Boeotian inscription from northern Greece.[1]"

As can easily be inferred from the above, the bulk of our attention this year was given to the recovery of the main monument itself. But incidentally a number of minor detached buildings were uncovered in its immediate neighbourhood. Further digging on the east has resulted in the recovery of a number of other small structures similar to those found the first year, which are now seen certainly to be little *stūpas* of various shapes and sizes (Plate XI (*b*)). The majority of those so far recovered lie to the south-east of the main *stūpa*, but several have been found along the eastern face as well, and it is practically certain that further excavation will disclose yet others both east and south-east, and presumably to the north-east, too. This all agrees, therefore, very well indeed with what Hiuen-Thsang tells us. We have the largest pagoda in India on the east of a huge monastery. The entrance to this, he tells us, was on the east, and to the right and left of this entrance were numberless little *stūpas*. To the right of the entrance we have not yet dug, beyond following the outline of the main monument, but to the left, that is to say to the south-east, a certain amount of excavation has been carried out; and wherever we go in this direction little *stūpas* are found closely crowded together. In one respect, however, they do not seem to agree with what the pilgrim tells us. He declares that they were exceptionally ornate and lavishly decorated, whereas such foundations as we have so far recovered are, with a single exception, perfectly bare of decoration save such as consists of plain mouldings. The exception was an irregular *stūpa* base, east of the main monument, which was found to have had a series of stone bas-reliefs running around its sides about one foot above the base, some of which were in position, while badly damaged fragments of other larger reliefs, and one well-preserved group representing Kubēra and Hāritī, measuring 2 feet square, were found in the surrounding *débris* (*cf.* Plate XIV (*b*).)

Another sculpture of considerable interest is the bas-relief illustrated in Fig. (*c*) of Plate XIV. Apparently the main intention in this composition is to depict the archery contest in which the Bōdhisattva demonstrated his superiority to the other Śākya youths. To the right is seen the Bōdhisattva in the act of drawing his bow (evidently in this case not the gigantic bow of Siṁhahanu, but the one used in the earlier part of the contest; for it is stated in the Lalitavistara that in drawing the former, Siddārtha did not even rise from his seat). Behind him stands an interested spectator, possibly the Daṇḍapāṇi mentioned in the text; while in front are two children, one with a quiver, and the other apparently holding a long staff, to the

[1] Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English lexicon* p. 8 *s. v.* 'αγησίλαος.

top of which is affixed some circular object, whose nature is not clearly defined. It is possible that this refers to the iron drums which the Bōdhisattva is about to pierce with his arrow ; but if this is so, it must be acknowledged that the representation is exceedingly feeble and unsatisfactory. The remainder of the composition, the left hand portion, that is to say, seems to refer not to the archery contest itself, but to some other feat performed by Siddhārtha on the same occasion. For he seems certainly to be represented again in the haloed figure in the left-centre, who is shown holding a rope, the greater part of which is coiled up on the ground by his side. The intention of the sculptor here as well as in the two attendant figures to the left,



Fig. 3.

entirely escapes me. It seems quite possible that the object held in such a conspicuous way by the figure appearing out of the background behind the Bōdhisattva is a clumsily represented sling in which the figure is fixing a stone. Nothing that I can find in the Lalitavistara's account of these athletic contests seems to have any bearing on the problem. What exactly is meant by the "*Pāśagraha*" in which the Bōdhisattva is there stated to have excelled (Chap. XII, P. 156, line 11 in Lefmann's edition) is not clear to me. The interpretation, therefore, must remain undetermined for the present; but that some one of the athletic contests is intended appears practically certain.

M. Alfred Foucher, Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne at Paris, has favoured me with the following interesting note on the sculpture discussed above, Plate XIV (*c*) :—

"Bas-relief de Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī (Essay d'interprétation.)"

"I. Partie droite. Le Bōdhisattva (nimbé) debout, bande son arc ; un Śākya adulte (son père ?) lui soutient le coude droit ; devant lui deux enfants tiennent l'un le carquois, l'autre la cible. (Qu'est-ce qui est figuré sur la cible ?) C'est le concours de tir à l'arc."

"II. Partie gauche : trois personnages.

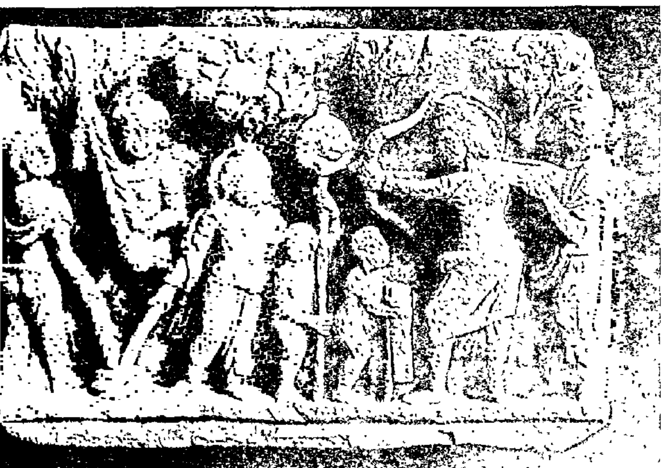
(*a*) Au milieu et au second plan un jeune Śākya élève visiblement dans sa main droite le bout de deux cordes d'une fronde, dans la pochette de



(a) STUCCO ORNAMENTATION ON STUPA WALL, NORTHERN SIDE OF WESTERN PROJECTION.



(b) KUBERA AND HARITI.



(c) THE ARCHERY CONTEST.

laquelle il place de la main gauche un projectile ; c'est unrappel du *match* de fronde."

(*b*) Il s'ensuit que le rouleau représenté à terre est aussi un rouleau de corde, les torons en sont figurés de la même manière. Or à droite le Bōdhisattva (nimbé) et à gauche un jeune Śākya tiennent chacun de la main droite une des deux extrémités de cette corde *en marchant dans des directions opposées :* la seule explication possible est donc qu'il s'agit d'un *match* de " tug-of-war." Pourquoi non ? Nil novi sub sole. Malheureusement, je ne vois pas que le texte du Lalita-vistara nous donne un nom pour ce genre de sport parmi tous ceux qu'il énumère."

A very large number of other sculptural fragments in stucco and terra-cotta were found to the west of this *stūpa*. These were for the most part curiously grinning heads, which seem certainly to have been grotesques of sorts, together with more serious doll-like heads wearing high and elaborate head-dresses (Fig. 3). Whether these are very late forms of Bōdhisattvas it is impossible to say, but that they, as well as the grotesques, the floral ornaments, and the heads of boars and dragons (or perhaps better *nāgas*), which were recovered here, formed part of the ornamentation of these buildings, now lost, seems certain, and perhaps gives us the clue to their present unadorned condition. For if, as appears probable, these structures belong in the main to the later centuries during which the site was occupied (they may even be later than Hiuen-Thsang's visit in some cases), they were not erected during the period of that stone sculpture which is typical of Gandhāra. Instances of real Gandhāra sculpture, therefore, would naturally be rare, and would be found only where ancient sculptures had been procured from older buildings and reset, as was almost certainly the case as regards the *stūpa* just mentioned, which has every appearance of being a very late structure. The bulk of the ornamentation, however, was stucco and terra-cotta and *modelled earth painted* (as is shown by the numerous fragments of such figures which were found). And this has for the most part disappeared, owing to its perishable nature, leaving the little *stūpas* in their present unadorned condition. This bears out, then, my original theory, mentioned in my first report. That only late sculptures of a very decadent type should *prevail* at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī was what might have been expected. It was the almost total absence of older fragments which raised a doubt last year. But this year a sufficient number of older fragments have been found to prove early occupation, and one find in particular establishes the great antiquity of the site beyond peradventure.

This, one of the most interesting finds so far recovered, consists of a number of fragments of inscribed bricks found among the *débris* on the western edge of the western projection of the main *stūpa*. No single unbroken brick was recovered, but from the fragments one can infer that they measured originally 9×6 inches by about an inch and a half in thickness. They show curiously corrugated backs with smooth faces, but the most peculiar feature of all is that the smooth face shows a thin coating of coarse glaze, thus giving us proof of the use of glazing at a date much earlier than has hitherto been known. For beneath this glaze the epigraph had been incised, which enables us to date the fragments with tolerable accuracy.

But although a very large number of such brick fragments were recovered in our particularly careful search, only eighteen were found with any writing preserved on them, and in the majority of cases even these showed only one or two letters each. One, however, bears the epigraph "*Budhase*", which appears to be part of a compound, and another the letters "*Divasa*", but no complete record can be made out.

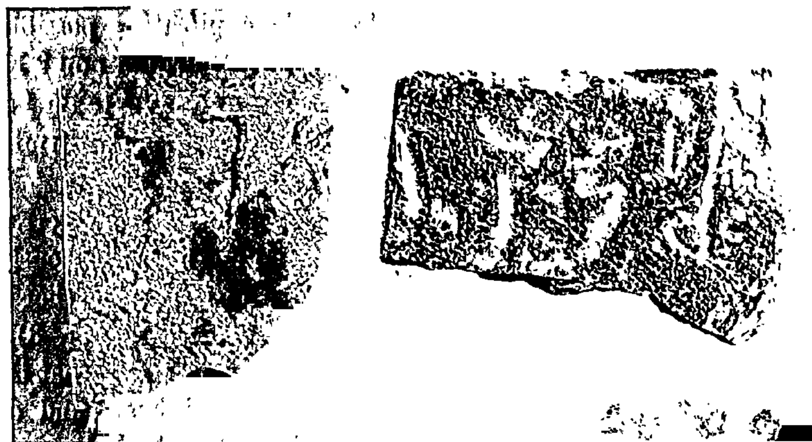


Fig. 4.

The most important fact to be noted, however, is that the character used is ancient Kharōshṭhī of a period, in my opinion, intermediary between the extreme varieties known, say 1st century A.D. That such an epigraph in bricks would have been moved from one place to another is, to my mind, out of the question, and its occurrence here is, therefore, another positive proof of the early date of the monument.

The coins recovered confirm the point. For of the many copper coins found at various places the majority of those in a recognizable condition belong to the Kushaṇa period, although a few were as late as the Śāhīs of Kābul. The only one, however, from which important conclusions can be drawn with certainty is the copper coin of Kanishka found in the centre of the *stūpa* mound beside the relic chamber. The significance of this discovery is obvious, for this coin alone would have been strong presumptive evidence as to the identity of the relics, even if the casket had proved to be uninscribed. As it is, it harmonizes perfectly with all the evidence from other sources.

Throughout the first season's operations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhērī our attention was given wholly to the *stūpa* mound, hoping there, if anywhere, to find definite proof of the identity of the site. But on resuming the work this year it was decided to examine at least a portion of the larger monastic mound to the west as well. A series of trial pits was accordingly dug across the centre of the mound from east to west in the hope of determining the level and position of the central courtyard. But although a pavement of pounded brick-dust was found at the bottom of each, we did not find any trace of buildings, and for this reason made trial diggings more to the east. Here, however, an intricate maze of walls was found very near the surface, which time did not permit of our clearing. But more satisfactory results were obtained at the south-east. As shown in the very brief report of Lieutenant C. A. Crompton, R.E., dated 30th March 1875, the Sappers and Miners under his command had, as he calls it, opened out "the descending gallery on the south side of

the mound" (marked A on his plan). This gallery, he says, "was cleared out to a length of 62 feet from the mouth, when a circular chamber 10 feet in diameter was reached. On clearing this out water was reached, and no trace of a continuation of the passage from this chamber was found; possibly this was an old well." No trace of this well was visible on our arrival. What we actually found was a rough tunnel dug, seemingly, by the Sappers and Miners themselves, in the south-east end of the main mound leading at a sharp incline downwards and to the north well into the body of the mound. There was no indication of any passage or gallery except the tunnel itself, which had been led right through a pavement between two large brick columns, which the excavators seem not to have noticed. The edge of this pavement was clearly traceable on both sides of the shaft they had sunk, and also one corner of one of the two columns. We began our work at this spot, therefore, with this definite clue. The edge of the pavement was cleared on both sides of the tunnel for a width of 3 or 4 feet (as far as it was safe to clear it with the mass of overhanging earth above,) and the columns were both set free. In order to get at this very deeply buried building, which seems certainly to be a monastery, a trench was then outlined on the surface in line with the two columns already mentioned, but to the west of the tunnel, in the hope of recovering a definite colonnade. But long before anything like the required depth was reached, the diggers came upon another pavement some 10 feet above the first. In order to find out what this was, therefore, the idea of sinking a trench to uncover the lower monument was for the time being laid aside, and the men were ordered to clear the upper pavement first of all.

Meanwhile the remains of an entirely modern *tahkhāna* adjoining the tunnel on the east had been cleared. Here again a rough brick pavement was found, but only 6′ 5″ above the lower monastery, and thus not on the level of the upper pavement on the west. In order not to have all access to the lower building closed, we cut through this brick pavement on the east and went down to the level of the older monument. Here the original pavement was found to continue, and in line with the two columns previously noticed, a third was found to the east, but in a poor state of preservation. North of this, however, a fourth column was recovered measuring 4′ 10″ square (the columns vary slightly, but all approximate this measurement) rising to a height of 5′ 3″, or just beneath the pavement we had removed. It seems evident, therefore, that we have here the inside corner of a monastic building, and there is a reasonable hope that the main lines of this building can be recovered. The fact that the limited portion of this pavement which we were able to approach this year was covered with various bits and fragments of metal and so forth, including one Buddhist temple ornament in excellent preservation, representing the Three Jewels supported on a central shaft crossed in the middle by a trident and terminating in a cresent below (*cf.* Fig. 5), makes it probable that a thorough clearance would yield interesting results. The brick columns, moreover, are, in Mr. Marshall's opinion, the largest known examples of such structures in early monastic architecture in India, and this points clearly to the importance of the building.[1] The level on which that lowest pavement occurs, it should further-

[1] I think there can be no doubt that the massiveness of these brick columns was imitated in the later cave temples. Such massiveness is necessary when the building material is brick without mortar, but it is purposeless in the case of rock-hewn pillars. [J. H. M.]

more be noticed, is about the level of the fields surrounding and burying the main *stūpa*, so that there is every possibility that an even older structure will be found beneath the lowest remains yet discovered in this portion of the site. The explanation of this greater depth here is furthermore clear. The oldest building was manifestly burnt down, as is witnessed by the strata of charcoal traceable in the sides of our cutting. Over the ruins of this older building another structure was raised as time went on, and the process seems to have been repeated a number of times. There are at least three definite pavements at different levels at this one corner of the mound alone, and a little to the north yet other walls and pavements at other levels still. Of all these, however, only the uppermost one has as yet been cleared to its edge, so that this is the only one which can be described in detail.



Fig. 5.

In form this pavement, which is composed of bricks very carefully laid, measuring 16″ × 10″, is square, with a measurement of 14′ 10″. There are no evidences so far of any bounding walls, but along the southern edge of the pavement a long narrow pile of masonry occurs, built of large blocks of conglomerate 19″ × 7″, and measuring itself 11′ 6″ × 4′ 3″. This seems to have been a sort of altar or pedestal, for at either side of it, and advanced a little from it towards the north, is the square base of what seems to have been a 14-sided column measuring in the base 4′ 3″ and in the shaft 3′ 11″ in diameter, with which two similar bases correspond on the north, the four forming evidently the support for whatever originally covered the altar. Among the small finds recovered on this pavement were a few coins and a fragment (about half) of a steatite medallion decorated in low relief with the very animated figure of a warrior evidently in combat with a person or animal now lost.

On the whole, the smaller finds in both mounds were both few and disappointing. A number of undecorated pottery bowls were found near the eastern end of the wall north of the high pavement described above, and one very large earthenware jar. But apart from the sculpture fragments mentioned above as coming from the eastern portion of the whole site, and the coins discussed elsewhere, few articles call for special mention. One or two fragments of colossal sculptures in stone were found, notably a huge head, now badly damaged, and the broken torso of a Buddha figure, the latter in the *débris* above the southern edge of the western projection, but no large sculptures in good preservation were recovered. One earthenware lamp-

stand, however, is worthy of notice. A round and fairly deep bowl, it shows a square receptacle in the centre raised on a short pedestal, with all four edges in-curving in a very graceful way, while the edge of the whole is set with ten little *chirāghs* of the usual form, making all in all a little collection of lamps that must have been very effective. But these, together with a small clay sealing with the Buddhist formula in late characters from the uppermost pavement in the monastery, are almost the only articles of interest among the vast mass of nondescript fragments encountered.

D. B. SPOONER.

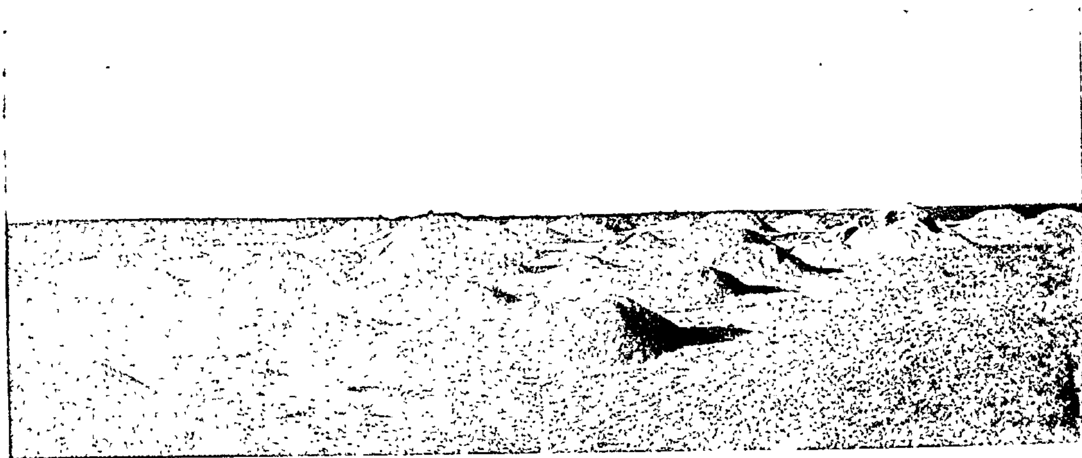


Fig. 1. View of mounds from south-west and of 'Āli village in the distance.

THE SEPULCHRAL TUMULI OF BAḤRAIN.

HISTORY.

THE kingdom of Baḥrain was well known to the ancients—by the designation perhaps of its largest island—from the earliest times.

Under the name of Niduk-ki (or Nituk?) in the Akkadian language, and of Tilvun or Tilmun in Assyrian, it was frequently associated with the districts of Milukh and Magan (probably the modern Oases of Ḥasā and Qaṭīf) in the Mesopotamian inscriptions.

Sargon I of Akkad reduced Nidukki and "the black-heads" about 2770 B.C., and his son Naram-Sin defeated the kings of Magan and Apirah (Pihlical, Ophir?) in the same neighbourhood a few years later.

Two thousand years later the annals of the younger Sargon, King of Assyria, record that he received the submission of Hupir, King of the islands.

It is therefore no matter for great surprise that a stone should have been found in Baḥrain 30 years ago, bearing a Hieratic Babylonian inscription, which has been transliterated by Sir H. Rawlinson :—Hekal Rimugas, eri-Inzak, Aqiru, *i.e.*, "The Palace of Rimugas, the servant of Mercury, of the tribe of Ogyr."

Four and a half centuries after Hupir or about 325 B.C., the existence of the islands was noticed by the historians of two Greek expeditions which explored the coasts of the Persian Gulf under the orders of Alexander the Great.

The first squadron, commanded by Nearchus and Orthagoras, was coasting up the Persian side when at Oaracta or Voroctha, the modern Kishm Islands, a pilot named Mithropastes was taken into service. This Mithropastes, we learn from Strabo's account, had been banished by King Darius to Tyrinē, the island where was to be seen the tomb of King Erythras "on a high mound covered with wild palms;" and he had subsequently fled to Voroctha from Ogyris, which therefore we assume to

have been synonymous with, or adjacent to, his place of exile—Tyrinē. It has been pointed out by Sir H. Rawlinson[1] that Arrian, in stating that the tomb of King Erythras was on the island of Voroctha itself, has evidently misquoted his authority, the original and now forgotten historian of the expedition.

Androsthenes, the commander of Alexander's other expedition, travelled down the Arabian Coast as far as the islands Tyros and Arados, which he places in the vicinity of Gerrha (the earlier Milukh?) on the mainland. These islands, according to Strabo, contained temples resembling those of the Phoenicians, built by colonists of that nation.

It is suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson that the names Tyrinē and Tyros are the Persian versions, as given by the pilots, of the old name Tilvun, Tul or Tila, while the name of the lesser island seems to survive to the present day in the form Arād, which belongs to one of the villages still existing thereon.

Following upon the Græco-Egyptian writers, in the first century A.D., the Roman Pliny describes the island of Tylus, opposite Gerrha on the mainland, as being famous for its pearls: he also mentions Ogyris as the site of Erythras' tomb. A century later, the geographer Ptolemy shows Tylos and Thāro islands on his map, and makes mention of Arathos the lesser island and Ougoris in his text. The positions of Ptolemy's islands are, like the outline of his coast in this neighbourhood, considerably in error, but it is not difficult to identify Thāro with the modern Tārūt island opposite Qaṭīf, and to infer thereafter the identity of Tylos with Baḥrain.

In the seventh century A.D. the Christian province of Katara (the modern Qaṭar) included five sees, (1) Dirīn, (2) Masamig, (3) Talon or Tilum, (4) Khata and (5) Hajar, which perhaps may be identified with the modern (1) Darin on Tārūt Island, (2) Samahij, the northernmost village of Muharraq Island, marked on Niebuhr's map, (3) Baḥrain proper (*i.e.*, the largest island of the group), (4) Khaṭṭ, or the coast-line from Salwa to Qaṭīf, and (5) the Ḥasā Oasis.

In mediæval days,[2] the Arab geographers knew Baḥrain as the mainland district, which stretched from Baṣra to 'Om'ān and from Yamama (in Najd) to the Persian Gulf, the Arabian islands of which it included. The capital of this district was Hajar (meaning town) or Aḥsā, the modern Ḥasā. At the present day this last name is used indifferently for the Oasis of about 100 square miles and for the chief town which is more specifically known as Hofūf—*cf.* the similar practice regarding Baḥrain and its capital Manama and Qaṭar with its chief town Doha.

The origin of the name of Baḥrain, "the two waters," is explained by Yāqūt as referring on the one hand to a 'Buḥaira' "little sea" which receives the surplus waters of the Ḥasā springs on the edge of the Oasis, and on the other hand to the Persian Gulf. Another suggested explanation is that the waters referred to are the Shatt-al-'Arab estuary and the subterranean river which feeds the springs of Ḥasā, Qaṭīf, and the Baḥrain Islands. According to verbal information which has been

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII N. S. (1880).

[2] The only work of this period which I have been able to consult personally is Yāqūt's "Mu'jam-al-Buldān," the same from which Sir H. Rawlinson quotes in his "Notes on Captain Durand's Report," in *J. R. A. S.* cited *ante*. I understand, however, that the other writers of the same period, Ḥamadānī, Ibn Ḥauqal, Iṣṭakhrī Idrīsī, Abū-l-Fidā, Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥājī Khalfa, &c., are in general agreement regarding the limits of Baḥrain, and the principal locations and tribes found within its borders. [Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Bahrein und Jemāma. Nach Arabischen Geographen beschrieben.* Göttingen 1874. Ed.]

given to me, the Ḥasā Oasis is bordered on the east and west by large marshy lakes, having an area of several miles each.

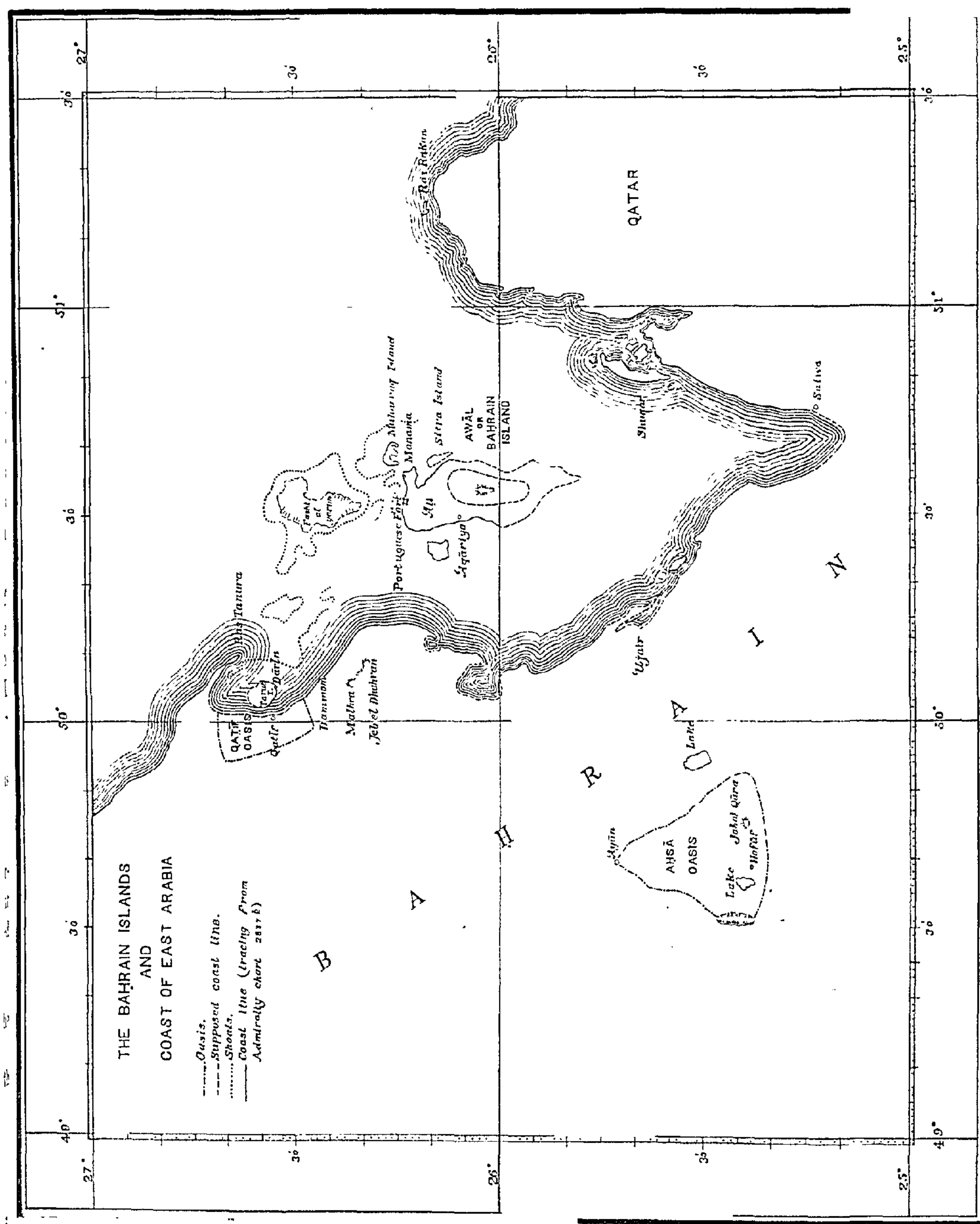
A third solution therefore would seem to be possible, giving the name proper to the Oasis only: its subsequent extension to the larger district, including Qaṭar, Qaṭīf and the islands would easily occur when these latter came under the domination of one ruler or perhaps one tribe, the Banī Khālid for instance, who certainly were pre-eminent throughout the whole area a few centuries ago.

Yāqūt gives us two other pieces of interesting information. The ancient inhabitants of Baḥrain, he says, were Himyarites, not Arabs, using a speech and writing different from Arabic. One of their islands, Awāl, is named after a god, and another of their gods was called Muharriq. At the present day Muharraq is the name of the second largest island and town in the group, the town alone containing about 20,000 inhabitants. It is on this island that the ancient villages of Arād and Samahij are situated. It seems surprising that the name Arād is not mentioned by Yāqūt, for while agreeing with Sir H. Rawlinson that there can be no connection between Arād and the Phœnician Arvad, I think this authority may be wrong in assuming that the name Arathos given by Ptolemy is a correcter form than the Arados of the earlier writers. Sir H. Rawlinson's only reason for this suggestion is, I believe, founded on a fallacy, for in Yāqūt I find no mention of a village named Arrat (أَرَّة), but the place mistaken for it is written Āra (آرَة) in my copy of "Mu'jam-al-Buldān." The situations of this spot and of eight of the other places (out of nine) given by Yāqūt in his special article on Baḥrain have been described to me by my Ḥasawī friends. All these spots are thus proved, with the exception of Dārīn, to be on the mainland, and there can be little doubt, I think, but that the tenth, Zara, which we have not identified, should be looked for outside of the island group.

I give below the names in Yāqūt's general list, which have been identified as belonging to the region of old time Baḥrain.

1. Āra, a well and ancient Bedouin camping ground north of 'Ayūn.
2. Aḥsā, now more generally called Ḥasā. The inland Oasis : also an alternative name for the chief town Hofūf. The names of the ancient forts Ṣafā and Mushaqqar are still preserved, the former being applied to a spring and flowing stream.
3. Awāl, the largest island of Baḥrain, now generally called Baḥrain.
4. Bainūna, a large tract containing many wells, inland and south of the Trucial 'Omān coast.
5. Thāj, a ruined town in the Wādī-al-Miyā, a considerable distance north of the Ḥasā Oasis.
6. Jabala, a village on Baḥrain island.
7. Jubaila, ditto.
8. Jufair, ditto.
9. Juwātha, a ruined mosque, with a spring, on the edge of the Ḥasā Oasis. Local tradition says that here was erected one of the first four mosques of the Islamic era.
10. Khaṭṭ, the coast-line from Qaṭīf to Salwa.

PLATE XV.


THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS
AND
COAST OF EAST ARABIA
Oasis.
Supposed coast line.
Shoals.
QATAR
AWĀL
OR
BAHRAIN
ISLAND
AHSĀ
OASIS
B A H R A I N

11. Dār, a group of wells on a caravan route to the interior.
12. Dārīn, a town on Tārūt island, separated from the mainland by a shallow sea, fordable at low tide.
13. Rumaila, a village of Qaṭar.
14. Sābūr, a well, now disused, on the caravan route to Najd.
15. Sabakha, an immense salt marsh, which divides Ḥasā from 'Omān.
16. Samahij, the northernmost village on Muharraq island.
17. Sahla, a village on Baḥrain island.
18. Sulāsil, a broad torrent-like stream running through the Ḥasā Oasis.
19. Turaibil, a village in the Ḥasā Oasis.
20. Dhaharān, a hill and district near Qaṭīf.
21. 'Adān, the coastal tract between Qaṭīf and Kowait.
22. 'Uqair (generally pronounced 'Ugair or 'Ojair), the port for the Ḥasā Oasis, now garrisoned by the Turks.
23. 'Unak (now pronounced 'Anik and 'Anich), a village and fort in the Qaṭīf Oasis.
24. Ainain, a favourite camping ground with wells north of Qaṭīf.
25. 'Ayūn, the northernmost village of Ḥasā, walled and moated.
26. Ghāba, a spring and garden, south of 'Ayūn.
27. Qāra (pronounced Gāra), a large circular hill in the Ḥasā Oasis, situated about 5 miles east of Hofūf town. The German traveller Hermann Burchardt,[1] who paid a flying visit to Ḥasā in 1904, wrote of this place: "I found great interest in the 1½ hours distant (from Hofūf) village of Gāra, with its wonderful sandstone formations and its extensive caves, which in the hot weather are used as cool summer dwellings."

I understand that it is the people of Hofūf itself who chiefly occupy these caves in the hot months, though the lower slopes of the hill maintain in addition a dozen permanent villages just above the level of the date-gardens and rice-fields which surround it on every side.

28. Qaṭar, the extensive promontory of the mainland east of Baḥrain. The name perhaps originally applied more properly to the chief town on its eastern side, now called generally Ad Doha ("the Bay").
29. Qaṭīf, the chief town of the costal Oasis, north-west of Baḥrain.
30. Qulai'a, a common name, applied to a bay in Baḥrain as well as to two capes on the mainland, one of the Qaṭar promontory and the other of Qaṭīf.
31. Muzairi'a, a village of Ḥasā.
32. Natā', more commonly called Antā', a village in the Wadi-al-Miya north of Ḥasā.
33. Naqair, a group of wells, north of Ḥasā.
34. Hajar, a name—not used now, but well known by tradition to have formerly belonged to Hofūf.
35. Yabrin (or Jabrin), an Oasis with a bad reputation for unhealthiness, south of Ḥasā. Its villages are now deserted, though the date groves still exist for the benefit of the Bedouin.

[1] Murdered in 1909 somewhere near Hudaida.

Another name mentioned by Yâqūt, though unrecognized now, may perhaps be of interest—Tarm, "the *Madīna* 'chief city' of Awāl." Can this be the Tyrus of the Greek travellers?

At the time of the conversion to Islām, Baḥrain in the larger sense of the name seems to have been an appanage of the Persian province of Hira, governed by the practically independent Viceroy Mundhir. Two and a half centuries later the whole district with Qaṭar and 'Omān fell under the schism of the Karmathians, who originated from Kūfa, and who illustrated the general antagonism and reaction, felt throughout Arabia and Persia, against the predominent despotism assumed by the Califate and the Quraish tribe. The tenets professed by Karmāth's followers were pantheistic in theory and socialistic in practice. They regarded the Qurān as an allegorical book, rejected all revelations, fasting and prayer, and were communistic even in the matter of wives. In 929 A.D. these sectaries actually succeeded in storming Mecca itself, violating the Ka'ba and removing the sacred Black Stone to Ḥasā, only restoring it under heavy ransom some twelve years later.[1]

The sect existed, gradually weakening in power, for two hundred years in Arabia, though one division, the "Assassins" of North-Eastern Persia, survived a century more, and the Syrian Druses of the present day are considered by some to descend from the same source.

The history of Baḥrain during this period, till the close of the fifteenth century, seems to have no record, though as the agricultural classes and villagers generally at the present day, both in the islands and in Ḥasā and Qaṭīf, are Shias, it seems certain that a close connection with Persia must have again quickly been resumed, even if it did not exist during the ascendancy of the Karmathians, whose apostles themselves came from Persia.

From 1507 to 1622 the Portuguese succeeded in obtaining the mastery of the islands for the sake of the pearl industry, and that their power must have been real is evidenced by the fact that their substantial fort was largely built with the stones taken from the ancient and largest mosque of the island, the two minarets of which still stand, uncared for by the present Arab ruler, to guide the steamers of to-day to their customary anchorage.

The Portuguese were eventually driven from Baḥrain with ignominy by Shāh 'Abbās the Great, after which the islands became a dependency, at times nominal only, of the Persian Port Governors, who themselves were sometimes, perhaps generally, Arabs of the Persian Coast.

In 1783, at a time when they were practically independent, these islands were captured by a confederacy of Arab tribes hailing originally from Kowait though temporarily from Qaṭar, the leader of which founded after several vicissitudes a firmly established government over the Principality.

With regard to the later history of the Oases of Ḥasa and Qaṭīf it will suffice to say that they quickly, though unwillingly, succumbed to the Wahhābi Power of Najd in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and that in 1871 they were cap-

[1] *Cf.* M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrain et les Fatimides* (*Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales No. 1*) Leide, 1886.

tured from the latter by Turkish troops and formally absorbed in the Baṣra Willāyat of the Ottoman Empire.

Geographical Description.[1]

The largest island of the Baḥrain group, itself now properly known as Baḥrain with Manama for its chief town, is about 30 miles long from north to south and 12 miles wide at its northern extremity, while it tapers to a point at the southern end. The district fertilized by the bountiful fresh-water springs, which seem to be a continuation of those appearing in the Ḥasā and Qaṭif mainland Oases, is somewhat sharply defined ; it includes, beside the northernmost quarter of Baḥrain Island, the whole island of Muharraq, and the northern half of Sitra Island, appearing as well in the form of submarine springs within these lineal limits on various reefs, which are uncovered, or almost uncovered, at low tides.

The sepulchral tumuli, the subject of this report, are found only on the main island. Besides appearing in some four or five scattered localities in the midst of the garden cultivation and villages where, from the height of the ground surface, or perhaps the deep sandiness of the soil, the land is perforce left waste, the mounds are seen chiefly skirting the whole of the inner edge of the northern cultivated area, which roughly appears in the shape of a young moon tapering down the east and west shores of the island into the narrowest widths of a few hundred yards. Inland of the cultivation, after the intervention of a bare sandy plain, averaging perhaps a mile in width, the ground in places rises abruptly in cliff formation and elsewhere gently slopes up to a height of about 200 feet, presenting for about a couple of miles in the direction of the centre of the island a limestone surface strewn with flinty, lichen-covered pebbles, and frayed with dry water courses or nullahs at every few hundred yards. On the inner edge of this highland the country drops crater-like and generally with overhanging rocky surface some 15 to 30 feet, so that a winding passage of descent for pack-animals into the centre of the island can be found only at rare intervals of several miles. Within the "crater," which however is certainly not of volcanic origin, occur spaces of meadow land (ready-made in appearance for racing, polo, and similar games !) intermingled with bare and stony patches of gravel and rock. In the centre of all rises Jebalúd-Dukhān, the black rocky hill of 440 feet in height, which constitutes the first land mark for mariners steering for the islands.

It is, as I have previously observed, on the northern and western slopes of the flinty up-land and on the sandier soil at its foot that the principal collection of mounds is seen. The area here covered by them is fully 20 square miles, and in many directions and quarters the smaller tumuli, having diameters at their bases of about 20 feet, are so crowded together that it would be impossible to find room for the insertion of additional mounds of the same size in their midst. In other parts, and especially on the higher surface, the mounds are less closely packed ; indeed the mounds so situated on the greatest elevation are in the worst condition, so wind-swept an appearance have they. In their case the earth once mingling with the stones has all melted away, with the result that almost every summit has fallen in badly, clearly indicating the destruction of the tomb inside.

[1] On the accompanying map (Plate XV), read *Dammām* for *Dammom* and *Mathra* for *Malhra*.

The other localities on the island where sepulchral tumuli occur, are (*a*) on the north coast about a mile west of the Portuguese Fort, where only six exist in a line, (*b*) close to the old ruined mosque with two minarets, where about the same number are seen, (*c*) about two miles north-west of 'Ālī, where about two square miles of mounds occur, similar to the single-storied ones in the largest group, and (*d*) two miles south-west of the Portuguese Fort, where a sandy square mile of country is thickly occupied by smallish mounds.

The tumuli mentioned under (*a*) and (*b*) must originally have been as large as those immediately south of 'Ālī village, on the excavation of which we have chiefly been engaged. They were constructed, however, with a much smaller percentage of flint in the piles of earth and have, therefore, now been blown in the course of time into irregular heaps not exceeding fifteen feet in height; the result is that the position of the tombs has become much harder to guess correctly, though it is quite conceivable that they may still be in good preservation and will repay digging into.

One other ruin of interest there is in Baḥrain, just south of the old minaretted mosque. The Arabs call it *Qala't Dayyānūs*, "the ancient fort," and I have wondered whether it may not be the basement of an old Babylonian tower. It is a square erection, apparently without a doorway, composed chiefly of clay with a masonry wall all round, and outside the latter is more clay and earth to a thickness of several feet. I have not measured the sides, but estimate roughly that they are about 100 feet in length and about 10 feet high. The interior of the building is now more or less hollow, but I attribute this fact to the clay having probably been removed in later times by the villagers around.

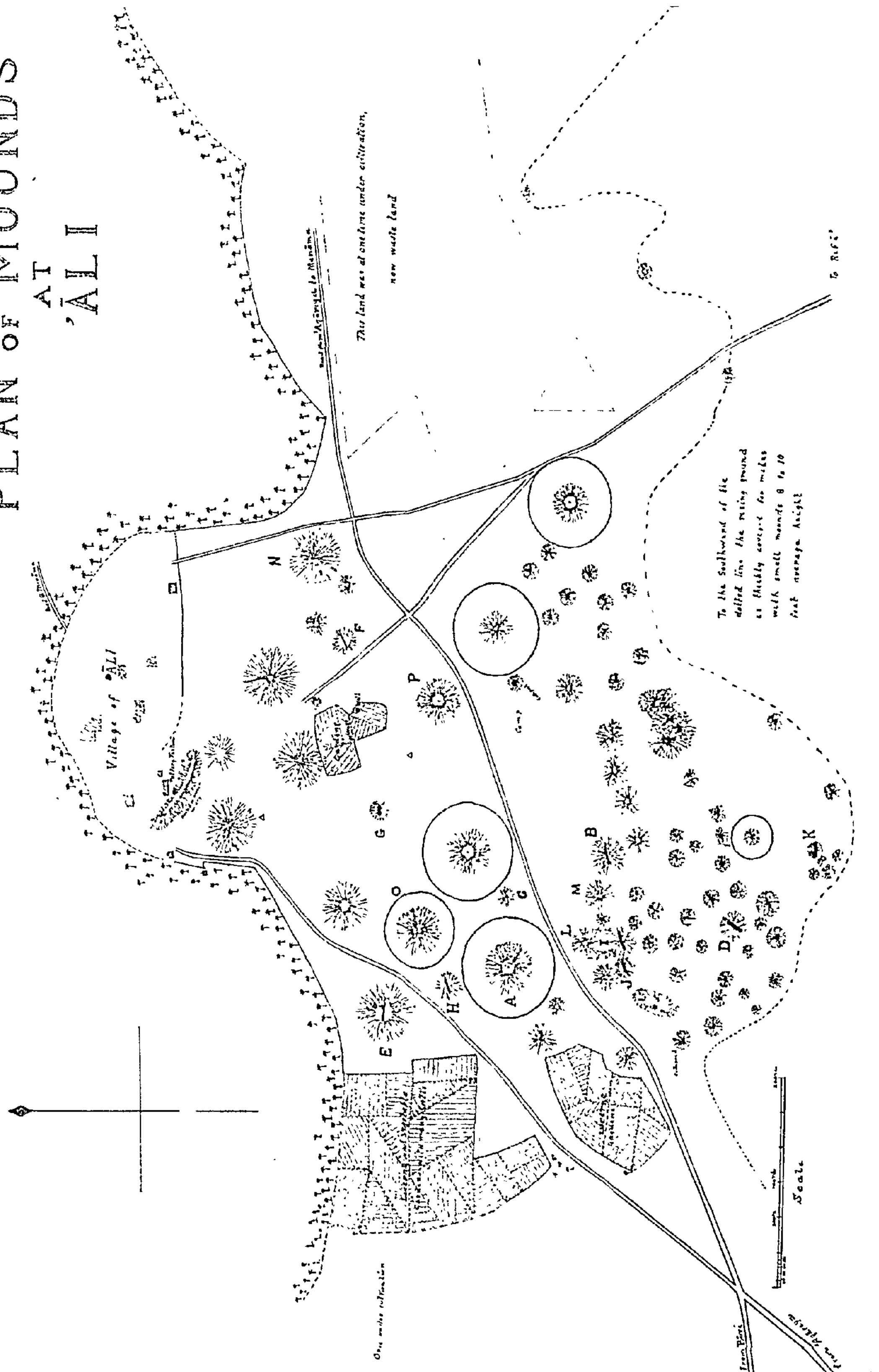
Previous Excavations.

The sepulchral tumuli of Baḥrain were first brought to the notice of modern savants by Captain (now Sir) E. L. Durand, First Assistant to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, who was deputed by the Government of India to reside for some months in these islands in 1878-79.

Captain Durand's curiosity was naturally excited at the appearance of the wonderful and unique collection, which perhaps forms the most extensive necropolis in the world. He accordingly proceeded to open out one of the smaller mounds with a view to ascertaining the best method of dealing with a large one, and he subsequently attacked one of the latter, though unfortunately with little success.

The results of his work were that the lesser mound was proved to cover a small hollow tomb, stone-built and flat-roofed, with recesses on either side at the two ends of the central chamber. A human skeleton was discovered in a sitting position in the north-eastern recess, and the bones of a sheep or gazelle were found in the opposite cavity. More bones were found in another part of the tomb, which also produced two earthen bowls of different qualities, together with some fragments of ivory or wood and a quantity of small shapeless pieces of oxidised brass or copper.

With regard to the larger mound marked A in my map (Plate XVI), Captain Durand was able to discover little, as the roof of the main chamber, which was reached after considerable difficulty, was found to have fallen in. The conjecture that date-tree trunks and matting must have formed an integral part of the construction is


PLAN OF MOUNDS AT 'ĀLI
Date Plantations
Village of 'ĀLI
This land was at one time under cultivation, now waste land
To the Southward of the dotted line the rising ground is thickly covered for miles with small mounds 8 to 10 feet average height
Scale
To Rifā'
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P

strongly corroborated by my own conclusions in regard to the largest mound opened by me.

It is impossible at this date to say for certain whether Captain Durand's mound was double-storied or whether it only contained a frontal facing similar to that which is found in Mound F, as one can now see no sign of masonry behind the well-mortared and lofty outer shaft. The probability however is, judging from the height of the mound, that the tomb was very similar to the one which I exposed in Mound E.

This second mound in the circumstances produced nothing of interest, but it was apparent that mortar had been used in its construction as well as date-tree trunks and pieces of matting.

Captain Durand's discoveries were published in an article,[1] mention being at the same time made of a black stone discovered during the same sojourn in Bahrain bearing a "brief Hieratic-Babylonian inscription." The connection of this stone, however, with the constructors of the tumuli seems at present to be very doubtful.

The next attempt at elucidating the mystery of the tombs was made by some officers of H.M.S. "Sphinx" a few years later.[2]

I have not been able to ascertain which mounds they examined, but suspect that either one or both of those marked O and P in the accompanying plan may be the tumuli in question.

In the spring of 1889, Bahrain was visited by Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, who had evidently been attracted by the account of Captain Durand's experiences. They opened one of the largest mounds, B, and were so fortunate as to find the tomb inside, which consisted of two stories, in good condition, though the perishable contents were almost past the stage of recognition. In the upper chamber the Bents found fragments of ivory, circular boxes, pendants with holes for suspension, the torso of a small statue, the hoof of a bull fixed on to a pedestal (also in ivory) the foot of another little statue, and various fragments of utensils—pieces of pottery, coarse and unglazed, bits of ostrich shells, coloured and scratched with rough patterns in bands, and small shapeless pieces of oxidised metal. The whole of the *débris* with which the floor was covered, and which must have fallen from the unmortared sides and roof, was intermingled with the tiny bones of the jerboa. The bones of a large animal, believed to be a horse, were also found in this chamber. In the lower chamber human bones were found, and the walls appeared to have been draped with tapestry suspended from wooden pegs (the size of tent-pegs) all round, including the four recesses.

The Bents then looked in to a smaller mound C; but apparently they did not clear out the *débris* which had filled up the tomb to a height of 4 or 5 feet, as an eye-witness informs me that they crawled in on hands and knees to look round—they were just able to examine the peg-holes referred to in their account—and then desisted from their investigation.[3]

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, N. S. (1880); pp. 189 ff.

[2] *Vide* the statement of Mr. Cecil H. Smith of the British Museum, reported on page 18 of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for January 1890 (Volume XII, No. 1, New Monthly Series).

[3] The story of their proceedings was read by Mr. Bent before the Royal Geographical Society in November 1889 (published in the number for January 1890); and the same account practically was incorporated by Mrs. Bent in "Southern Arabia," published by her in 1900 after her husband's death.

In September 1903 a Belgian gentleman, M. A. Jouannin, paid a brief visit to Baḥrain and obtained permission from the Chief of Baḥrain, through the good offices of Mr. J. C. Gaskin, the Local British Political Officer, to open one mound. He selected the one marked D, and succeeded in tunneling into the interior making his entry through one of the corner recesses. He found, I understand, only a few bones and pieces of pottery, and made no attempt to examine any more.

Result of the latest enterprise.

In 1904 the Archæological Department of the Government of India turned their attention to this ancient site, the Director General himself at first proposing to visit Baḥrain with a view to settling, if possible, the question of the origin of the necropolis. Subsequently, however, this arrangement was revised, and a sum of Rs. 1,600 was placed by the Government of India at my disposal.

I commenced work in the field on the 1st October 1906, employing Persian coolies, as the villagers of 'Āli would not leave their fields at that time of year nor consent to undertake any unnecessary work on account of the strictness of their adherence to the fast in the month of Ramazan ; moreover they seemed to entertain considerable awe about working on the larger mounds. The daily wage paid was 11½ annas, a much higher rate than would have been necessary a few years previously, owing to the general rise in prices which has occurred in the Islands. In this rate allowance was, of course, made for the fact that the coolies had to import their own food from the town seven miles away. About six weeks later, finding that the Persians did not improve in work, although the Ramazan month had passed away, I replaced some by about a dozen vagrant Paṭhāns and Panjābis who had become stranded in the Islands in the course of their journeys to the holy places of Islām. Later, I was able to substitute villagers from 'Āli for the remaining Persians, and though these people worked fairly keenly with the example of the Indians continually before them, and for the same rate of pay which I found it impossible to reduce, they came nowhere near the high standard of excellence in endurance and courage exhibited by the Paṭhāns in particular. In the immediate supervision of the coolies I had three sepoys of the Native Infantry escort continually on duty, as well as the non-commissioned officer in charge of my camp. A clerical member of my office staff also was always on the spot to direct the work generally in accordance with my instructions, and I myself slept almost every other night in the camp, devoting alternately some hours of either the morning or the evening to inspection and directing the work. Practically the only days when I was entirely absent from the scene were the weekly mail-days, when my presence was necessary at Manama, the head-quarters of the Agency. My supervising assistants all displayed the greatest interest and zeal and my thanks are heartily accorded to Messrs. D. X. Lobo and Sayed Muhammad Inamu-l-Haqq for their devotion to work which was dull and monotonous at times and was outside and additional to the ordinary sphere of their official duties.

Our excavations for the year were concluded on the 31st March 1907. We had then opened out seven tombs of large or medium size and twenty-five small tombs of a simpler type. I had also spent a little labour on clearing out, sufficient for



(*a*) THE LARGE MOUNDS NEAR ALI, FROM SOUTH-WEST.



(*b*) MOUNDS A, H, C, (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT);
E. AND O. IN FOREGROUND.

purposes of plan-making, the two tombs opened by the Bents in 1889, which had become obscured by the cuttings having gradually fallen in at the entrance to the tombs.

Our money was then all expended and the weather had become almost too hot for comfort in camp.

A brief description is now given of each individual mound of interest in the collection near 'Āli, a map of which was kindly prepared for me by Lieutenant Commander W. Hose, R.N., of H.M.S. "Redbreast," the brevity of whose stay in this neighbourhood unfortunately deprived me of much useful and valuable advice.

The lettering of the mounds, from A to M, I have made chronologically according to the dates of their excavations. The thick lines appearing on nine of the mounds indicate the lie of the tombs inside. It will be noticed that the doors of seven face the least bit south of west.

The door of *Mound E* points a few degrees north of west, while that of *Mound D* faces only 36 degrees west of south, differing very considerably from all the other mounds exposed, in this respect.

Mound A is the second and larger one opened by Captain Durand. I have failed to discover the site of his smaller mound, which he seems to have pulled to pieces. Captain Durand estimated the height of *Mound A* at 45 feet which seems to be rather excessive.

The outer circular containing wall was about 10 feet high. This wall was connected with the door of the tomb by a passage which in its latter part was mortared to a great height (30 feet ?). It seems therefore that the entrance to the tomb was not down a shaft as in the case of *Mounds C, E, H,* and *I,* but horizontally through a glorified form of the passage found in *Mounds B, F, G,* etc.

Mound B is the Bents' larger excavation. It presents now a most dilapidated external appearance, owing to various experimental cuttings made on all its sides.

The Bents state the height of the lower chamber to be 6 feet 7 inches, whereas this is really the height of the doorway above the threshold. The chamber itself averages about two feet more, including two or three inches of solid mortar on the rocky floor. The interstices in the lower ceiling were also filled with mortar from below. (Fig. 2.)

Mound C is the Bents' smaller one. The remarkable feature of the tomb here is that its floor is some 7 feet below the limestone bed-rock all around. Without pulling the whole mound to pieces, it would be difficult to say whether the hollow was natural or artificial. It may, however, be that stone had been previously quarried from the site for the construction of one of the adjoining large mounds, and that the builder of C had either some special reasons for wishing to insert his tomb here in spite of the lowness of the surface, or that he recognized in advance of his fellows the advantage gained in permanency and solidarity from using the natural rock as a background and support for his walls. From outside, the mound appears quite a small one, and in fact the tomb is the smallest in the immediate vicinity, but the cone of earth still rises 17 feet above the roof of the tomb, so that, if the floor had been level with the ground, a very much greater volume of earth would have been required to cover the circumference of the base. With a view to taking the

measurements of this tomb I caused all the rubble that the Bents had left untouched to be taken out. We found fragments of two interesting earthen vessels

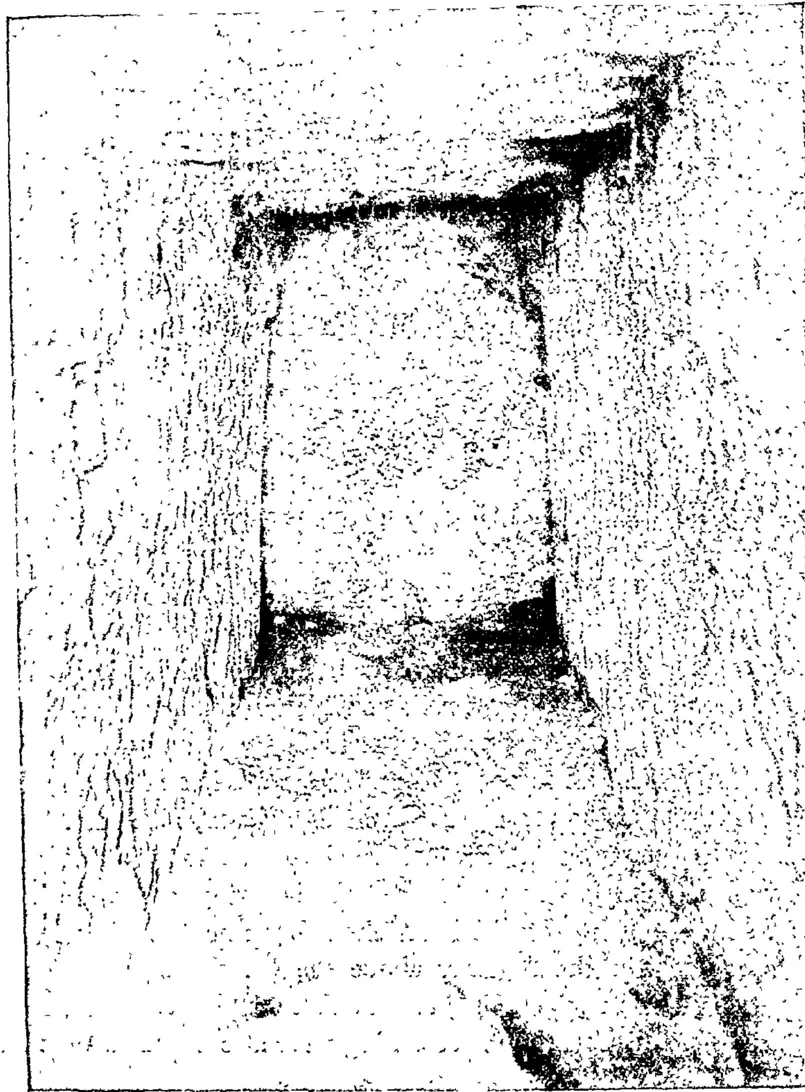


Fig. 2. Interior of Mound *B* (lower chamber).

evidently dating from the time when the tomb was constructed. One was a red earthen pot with rounded bottom, perhaps 60 inches in greatest circumference and having a broad black circular line near its neck.

The other of yellow clay had a narrow mouth closed by a membrane of clay through which twenty-four holes were made, each about as big as would be made with a lead pencil. See the fragment on the extreme left in the illustration of earthen pots (fig. 7). Earthen *Kūzas* are so treated at the present day so that the water may give a gurgling sound when poured out. The depth of the bottom of this tomb below the surrounding surface was definitely ascertained for me by Mr. R. L. Laffère of the Public Works Department, to whom I am also indebted for other assistance and advice in the preparation of the plans.

Mound D was opened by M. Jouannin in 1903. Attention has already been called to the remarkable difference in the plan of the tomb enclosed as regards cardinal direction. I may add that the excavator was perhaps lucky to escape contact with the shaft wall which possibly protects the entrance. I have not attempted to ascertain whether any stone rings or circles occur under the slopes. It is a curious fact that the probable position of the door is quite clearly suggested by a break in the rim of the considerable hollow on the top of the mound, and that this indication was ignored by M. Jouannin in favour of the possibility of the tomb having its door fronting the west in the normal manner.

I personally would have always rejected this tomb as unsuitable for experimenting on, on account of the dip on the top. The excellence of its internal condition proves that the magnitude of the dip is not of great portent provided that a good run-off for rain-water exists somewhere in the rim.

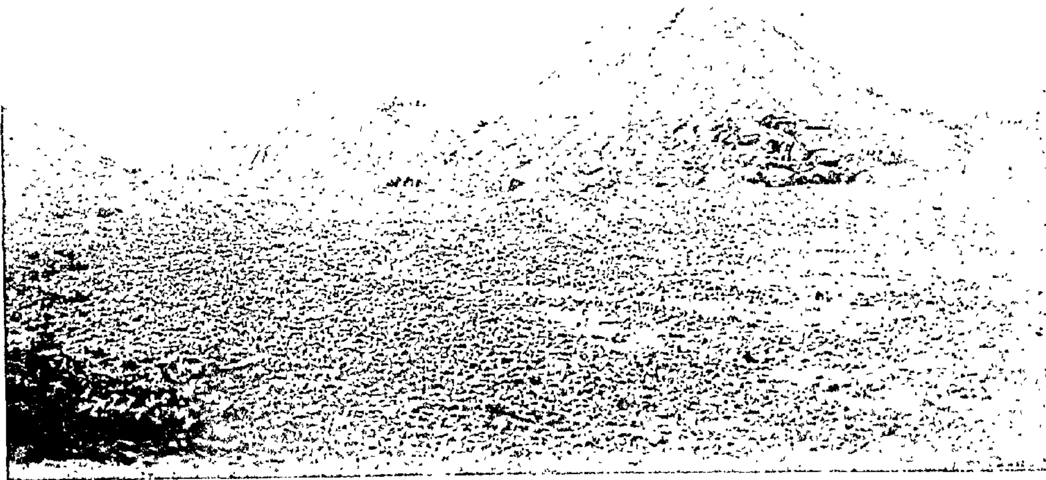
Mound E was the first one on which I set to work. It was selected mainly on account of its size and because it had never apparently been interfered with by man since its construction. I fully expected to find from its hollow summit that the upper chamber had dropped in, but hoped that, if the roof-stones of the lower story or stories were anything like those found by the Bents in *Mound B*, the latter compartments would still be unharmed. In the result we found that the ceiling of the lofty lower chamber had not contained stone slabs at all, the width of the span having evidently been too great for the constructors to bridge by the usual method of stone roofing. I commenced work by marking out a trench, 5 feet wide, from the summit to the bottom of the mound on its western slope. Gangs of five coolies were placed at intervals along this line to cut down simultaneously through the surface. After the first two days we had discovered the existence of the south and west walls of the outer square shaft as well as the lintel of the door, the circular ring of cube-stones, and the top of the tremendous conglomeration of rough stones near the base of the mound. I then transferred some of the cooly gangs and set them to cutting horizontally across the top of the mound down to the roof of the upper chamber, while another gang excavated the wall-enclosed shaft outside the door. The first party at length came upon the roof-stones at the eastern end of the tomb *in situ*, and also discovered the slabs over the four side recesses, which by sound we judged to be clear of earth. The roof of the main upper chamber we saw had fallen in. At this stage we recognized that our labour in digging out the passage would be much facilitated by the cutting away entirely of the northern half of the summit of the mound. This accordingly was next done though it proved to be rather a lengthy job. The flat surface obtained was very useful when we came to hauling out the roof-stones which we found at all angles and depths embedded in earth in the main chamber, and the workmen who were put on to shifting earth were at the same time conveniently situated for the basket carriers to reach and the supervisors to watch. In the meanwhile the southern half of the square shaft had been cleared of earth from top to bottom, and by the time that the coolies working on the inner side of the tomb had come down to the floor of the side-recesses, we were able to recognize that the floor of the upper chamber must have been formed of a perishable material, as wide gaps appeared on

each side of the doorway, filled only with earth, where the roof-slabs should have been. The outer shaft only descends 12 feet below the height of the ceiling, while the room inside is 18 feet high. I was rather misled, by my ignorance of this fact, about the extent of the labour involved in emptying out the tomb, but at the same time I felt that, if any inscriptions existed within these mounds, their discovery might best be hoped for in the largest buildings, besides which other indestructible articles of interest might also conceivably have been found. I persevered therefore in excavating down to the floor, and hope that, in spite of the non-discovery of any articles of intrinsic or archæological value, the mere exposure of the whole plan of the tomb (to all intents and purposes, as I believe) will sufficiently repay the cost involved.

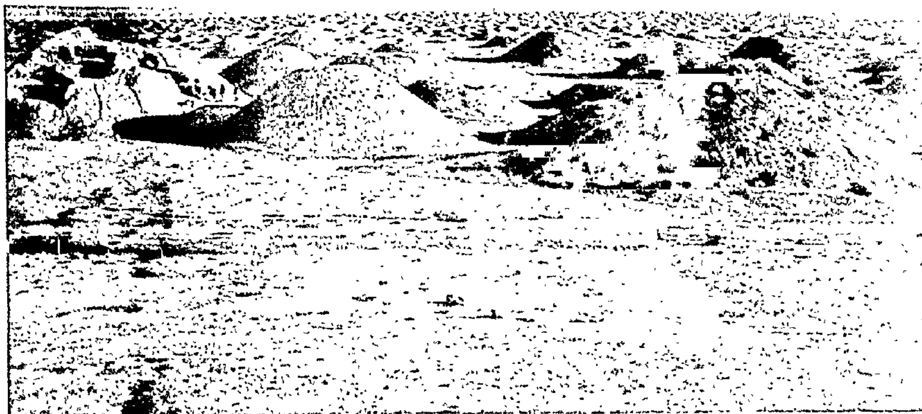
I made external cuttings on the north and west sides to prove as cheaply as possible that no additional constructions exist, and I have no doubt that on the southern side of the main chamber there is a single-storied flanking passage corresponding to the one on the north. These flank passages and the elongation at the east end occur only in this mound amongst those opened. I am inclined to think that the flank passages also occur in *Mound N*, which has not been exposed, but is referred to by both Captain Durand and Mr. Bent. A curious problem has arisen in regard to the western wall of the flanking (northern) passage or chamber. This wall has clearly been built up at a date subsequent to the construction of the other three sides. All the latter show a good deal of mortar, carefully filling in the crevices between the comparatively large stones as well as their main external irregularities, in a very similar fashion to the work done on the central chamber. The fourth (western) wall, however, contains rather smaller stones with a much larger admixture of mortar smeared at first equally on both sides (*viz.*, east and west) up to a height of only 8 feet, while the rest of the wall has been built up to the ceiling of the recess entirely from the outer side (the corner recess) without any regard to the regular appearance of the wall on its inner side. At first sight it undoubtedly appears that this wall was only filled up at some later date than the construction of the building, but then the question arises how the ceiling could have been placed over the corner recess. These ceilings, in all the four 10 foot recesses, consist of two sand-stone slabs each, and it is hard to believe that one of these stones rested only on two walls and the corner of a third detached one, bridging two passages, with another wall built up on its eastern edge ten feet higher to support the upper-story slab-stone over the recess. Such, however, I think must have been the case so that it is not surprising, that in the course of our excavations, the four slab-stones forming the upper and lower ceilings and the wall in question (of the upper story only) should have fallen in.

The general plan of constructing this tomb seems to have been as follows :—All the earth was first scraped off the bed-rock which is limestone, sometimes more nearly resembling coral. A thick bed of about 6 inches of mortar was then laid down wherever stone was to be set, as well as all over the enclosed floors. Large stones were then fixed as the base of the walls and set with mortar, great attention being paid to the smoothness of the inside and lateral surfaces, while none was given to the length and irregularity of the outer ends. Earth at the same time was thrown

EXCAVATIONS AT BAHRAIN.



(*a*) MOUNDS E. AND D. FROM SOUTH-EAST.



(*b*) MOUNDS B. M. AND L. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT
IN FOREGROUND.

all round the building and pressed in, up to the limits of the surrounding wall. The upper tiers of wall-stones were then laid, and wherever projecting behind the ones below, they would also rest partly on the earth which was continually being heaped up outside and pressed against the walls. The workmen would thus be always working on a more or less flat surface round the tomb which would facilitate the hauling up and placing in position of the wall-stones and roof-slabs. In this manner the earth would be piled up to the level of the roof of the tomb and perhaps in some cases a few feet higher while the outer perpendicular shaft or the horizontal walled passage, as the case might be in other mounds, would keep the earth from blocking the doorway of the tomb. In the case of double-storied tombs the shaft would be found generally more convenient; I have little doubt that it contained a wooden platform, for which the ledges of *Mounds E, H,* and *I* are evidently intended, on a level with the upper floor, as well as a ladder or stair-case down to the ground. In the case of *Mound E* there must also have been a wooden stair-case down into the bottom of the tomb from the door-threshold. Visitors, who have looked over the larger tombs with me, have frequently suggested that they must have also been built temporarily for residential purposes. It seems quite possible that the wealthy person who constructed one of these edifices may have also had a light date-stick structure similar to the 'Arīsh of the present day on the flat top of his mound for ordinary occupation, using the solid lower chamber as a winter bed-room and the upper, perhaps, as a store-room until his death. After this event, the master of the tomb would invariably be interred in the lower chamber, with a number of earthen pots, containing food and drink, and some slaughtered (?) animals placed inside; while the upper chamber would also contain animals and various ornaments, first possibly broken up. Sacrifices were also undoubtedly made on the roof. The door of each chamber of the tomb having been closed up with large stones stretching from the threshold to the ceiling, earth would be filled into the passage or shaft (after the removal of the woodwork, I fancy), and then the cone of earth would be raised up as high as possible. The fact that the earth in the passage was not probably rammed down very hard seems to account for the common depression which marks the position of the door, though in many cases this falling away of earth commences from beyond and across the centre of the tomb.

In *Mound E* we found the white (calcined) bones of a man, his teeth indicating considerable age, embedded in the earth about 5 feet above the floor of the upper south-eastern recess close to the main passage. It seems almost certain that these bones must have fallen through the roof; the man was presumably therefore a slave who had been sacrificed. The lower chamber and recesses contained a number of niches, about 6 inches in diameter, similar to but larger than those in the tomb of *Mound B*. Some of these contained quantities of small bones of birds and animals, such as the jerboa. The bones of an enormous number of small animals, such as jerboas, mongooses, cats and hares (?) (all of which abound here at the present day), seem also to have dropped down from the upper story. Our other finds in *Mound E* consisted only of the fragments of about twenty coarse earthen vessels



Fig. 3. Finger ring and two beads.

some of which seem to have been thrown, broken, on to the mound as rubbish. Two or three came out of the northern flanking chamber, while the others had probably dropped from the upper story. Only two beads but nothing else of value were found, though the earth taken from the tomb itself was sifted with great care.

The *raison d'être* of the circular ring of stones which occurs half-way up the slope of every mound of importance has also somewhat puzzled me. I am inclined to think that they were for external ornament, in which case we can estimate roughly by comparison with the other circle at the bottom of the mound, how much the height has diminished in the course of ages.

Mounds F and *G* were started on by me, while the work on *E* was still continuing. *Mound F* had a slightly convex top, while *G* had the best cone of all the mounds I have seen. I thought, however, that it would at best contain a very small tomb, and even doubted its being anything but a natural mound of earth.

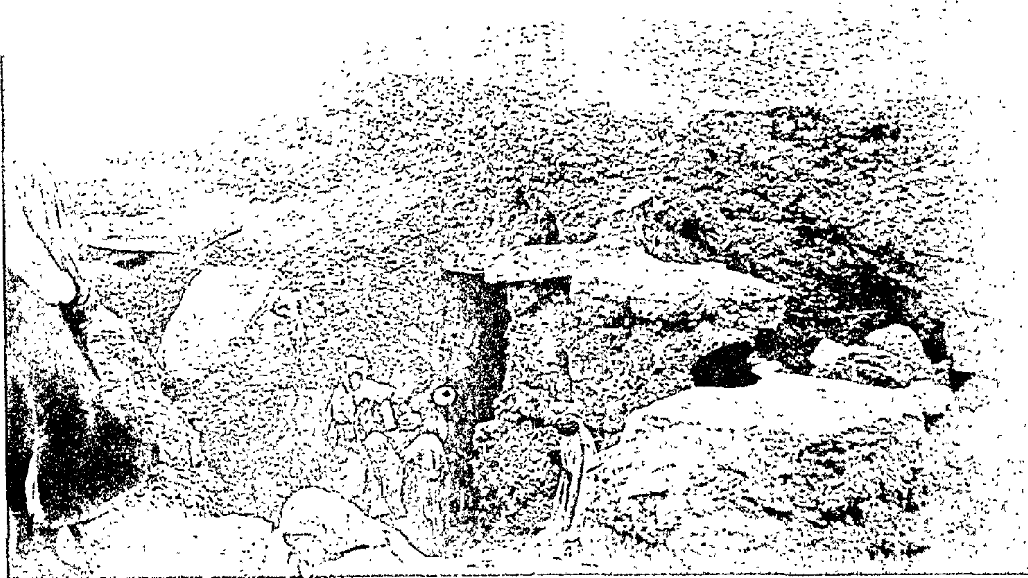
Both the tombs proved to be practically full of rubble and earth, due, I think, to the much sandier soil with which they had been covered. The ground all around, and in fact all the land to the north of the 'Aqāriya-Manama road has been under cultivation in comparatively recent times, though the soil lies only 6 to 12 inches above the rock, while south of this road the ascent, towards Rifā, at once begins, and lichen-covered flints preponderate over the sand.



Fig. 4. Interior of Mound G.

In *Mound F* one of the roof stones had fallen perpendicularly to the floor, but in neither case were my Pathān coolies deterred from burrowing in, and in fact the most ornamental pieces of pottery, as well as a corrugated gold ring and some frag-

EXCAVATIONS AT BAHRAIN.



(*a*) MOUND E. IN THE COURSE OF EXCAVATION.



(*b*) TOMB IN MOUND E. FROM SOUTH-EAST.

ments of a piece of black stoneware were extracted by sifting from these two tombs. Whilst burrowing down and searching for the roof of *Mound F* we came across the bones of a large, possibly bovine, animal just over the roof, and in the case of *Mound G* the skull of a cat fell through a chink in the roof of a recess with a quantity of earth, after a heavy fall of rain about a month after I had ceased working on the mound.

At this stage of my work I almost despaired of finding any tombs empty. I determined, however, to make one more trial and selected *Mound H*; here I contrived to hit upon the surface ground over the shaft with the most extraordinary accuracy and luck, and we cleared out all the earth as well as the little *débris* inside the chambers and completed the shifting work for a total cost of about ₨25. In this tomb the bones of a man were found in the central passage. He seems to have been placed flat on his back with head to the westward. The tomb had niches only at the east end, and the wall which blocked the doorway was placed at a curious distance from the outside. There are peg-holes along the sides of this tomb, and the wall in the door actually covers up one of these holes. The recesses each contained the fragments of an earthen pot, one with filtered mouth-piece, similar to the yellow one taken from *Mound C* already mentioned and the other of coarser make and red colour, which seems to have contained some kind of fat, perhaps ghee. It is a remarkable fact that neither in this tomb nor in any of the next three which we opened could we discover sufficient fragments of any pot to warrant the belief that these vessels had been put in unbroken. The thick dust on the floors was all carefully sifted for the solution of this question but the result was negative, though I hesitate to say that all the pots must have been fragmentary before being deposited, in view of the fact that we afterwards found in some smaller tombs clear signs that vessels in good condition were without a doubt also enclosed.

Mounds I, J and K were opened in quick succession, though not quite so cheaply as *Mound H*, as the entrances were not so easy to find, and the sifting work was heavier. Two more broken yellow pots with pierced mouths were obtained, one of these being in a recess, upside down, *i.e.*, with the rim on the floor. The upper half of a vase-like vessel was also noticeable from the fact that its colour—a bright scarlet—commenced to run profusely as soon as the fragments were placed in water.

In *Mound J* we found the only piece of ivory the character of which we could recognize, and an oxidized piece of metal, curved like a lyre, which may have been a hair ornament. The ivory fragment consisted of a leg of a bull attached apparently to a portion of its pedestal. The work, showing the cloven foot and the horny excrescence at the back of the fetlock, is quite true to nature and seems to indicate a high degree of talent in the sculptor. (*Cf.* Fig. 5.)


Fig. 5. Ivory bull's leg from Mound J.

At this stage, having completed the examination of seven mounds of the rarer, large variety, I determined to use up the rest of my money allotment on small mounds. I transferred my working party, therefore, into the midst of the closely packed tumuli through which the road to Western Rifā' runs about a mile and a half from 'Āli village. Here, at a cost of ₨5 to ₨10 per mound, we opened thirty-five tombs and sifted out their

contents in the course of a few weeks. Even here, in spite of the general family likeness of the tombs, there occurred slight differences in each individual grave. One or two had four embryonic side-niches; more had two only at the eastern end; some had only one, when it would be in the north-east corner; while others had no niches at all. As to the niches themselves, some would be made hollow up to the roof, while others would be topped by heavy stones at 18 to 24 inches above the floor. All the tombs in these little mounds were approximately of the same size, 6 or 7 feet long, 3 or 4 feet wide and the same in height. A human skeleton in varying stages of decay was always discernible, and though the amount of rubble inside the tomb



Fig. 6. Interior of small tomb.

varied from practically *nil* to six inches in depth, we never noticed enough to indicate that the body had been buried under such a covering. The skeletons appeared in all sorts of attitudes; in one case, the arms and legs must have apparently been tied close to the body, and the corpse set down in a sitting position against the wall which filled the doorway, as we found the skull, vertebræ and limb bones all resting on the ground just inside the entrance. In two instances, we could recognize a handful of dates that had been placed close to one of the hands of the reclining corpse, and one of these handfuls had so solid an appearance that the investigator was deceived into trying to pick up the fruit so carelessly that the whole crumbled into unrecognizable dust before our eyes. In the other case, the kernels of the fruit stones were still fairly hard, though the outer coverings had crumbled away. In all these small tombs there were invariably two earthen pots of different qualities and characters, one evidently being a receptacle for water and the other probably for some kind of food. About a dozen pots were obtained in good

preservation. A few fragments of oxidized metal were also taken out of these tombs but nothing else.

In the spring of 1908, for the edification of some friends, I again resumed work amongst the larger mounds near 'Āli, and opened two, marked *L* and *M* on the map, at my own expense.

Mound L disclosed a double-storied tomb, the lower chamber being about 7 feet high, and the upper chamber only 3 feet. The fragments of two pots were obtained, one being of the ordinary filtrated-mouth type, as well as the usual collection of small bones and fragments of ivory and metal. A feature of interest revealed by this tomb was that the corpse had evidently been interred under a pile of rubble in the central passage. This pile of flints and earth had been heaped

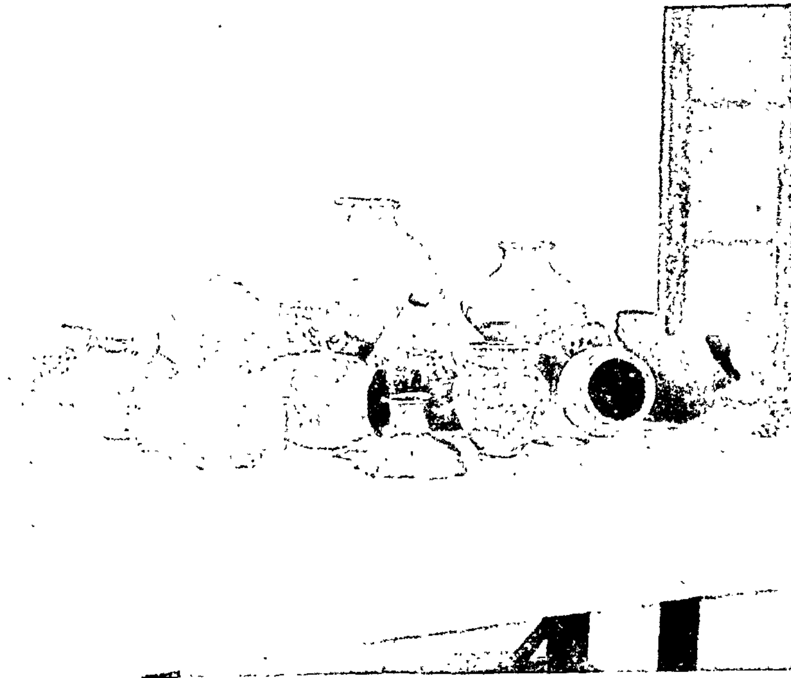


Fig. 7. Pottery from the tombs.

up right to the ceiling from which it sloped eastward and westward in quite natural gradients. The information, thus gained, that the ancient builders of these tombs sometimes covered their dead with earth, explains in some measure how the tombs of *Mounds C, F* and *G* and the upper chamber of *H* were found to contain so much rubble. In all these first-opened tombs the piles were highest against the eastern end, and in fact no recognizable human bones were found under any of them, as they probably had quickly decayed. Can it be possible that the corpses so treated were those of females?

Mound M had a single-storied tomb and produced fragments of three pots only. *Mirabile dictu*, however, the larger bones of a human right leg were found in the south-western niche, while the corresponding bones of the left leg, the big bones of the arms, and the whole skull were found in the north-western niche, the

intervening central passage, in which a few very decayed vertebræ were observed close to the latter niche, being 5 feet wide. The lower jaw had become separated by about a foot from the upper part of the skull, so it seems possible that some animals must have dragged the right leg so far away from the rest of the body, but as the bones showed no signs of injury, the affair appeared most mysterious to the two gentlemen, Captain White, I.M.S., and the Reverend F. J. Barny, who witnessed the opening of the tomb, as well as to myself.

In concluding this Report, I must state that the field of large mounds near 'Āli has now been practically worked out, as the tumulus immediately north of *O* and the three smaller mounds south-west of A are the only ones north of the Buri-Manama road which can possibly repay excavation.

Mound N is the tumulus which both Captain Durand and the Bents mention having crept into, before commencing work elsewhere.

Mound O[1] shows a cutting made horizontally across its summit in fairly recent times from east to west, exposing the sand-stone roof-stones in disorder. In my opinion, this mound is really the most interesting of all, from its position in the centre of four other mounds of nearly equal size. From the profusion of jumbled sand-stones, now at its foot, it seems also that its base for a third of its height may have originally been faced with a sloping surface of slabs, to give distinction to its appearance. The village women of the present day believe firmly that this mound is the home of a Jin which has to be propitiated with offerings of eggs, etc., every week.

Mound P has indubitably been entered by explorers, who had learnt the correct way of procedure. They dug at once for the outer shaft, as I did myself in the case of *Mound H* and subsequent ones; and now that the four sides have been washed down gently in the course of years, so as to fill up the well entirely, it is impossible to say whether they found the chambers intact or not.

I would suggest that, if the officers of the "Sphinx" were not the miners into this mound, it may be presumed that the Portuguese, who had ample leisure to search for treasure here in the sixteenth century, were the operators in question.

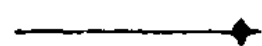
South of the road, there are still, of course, a number of fair-sized mounds, though perhaps very few of them contain double-storied tombs, the opening of which may still interest future investigators, and further back in the midst of the great field I would reckon that about 5 per cent. of the smaller mounds still cover undamaged tombs.

The number of tumuli in Bahrain, in my opinion, may be estimated in five if not six figures; so there still remains plenty of scope for the energy of future generations of archæologists, who will naturally be disappointed at the meagre results obtained up to date.

F. B. PRIDEAUX.

[1] *Mound O.* is the high mound shown in the foreground of plate XVIII (*a*), where it is erroneously indicated as *Mound G.*

EXCAVATIONS AT BRĀHMANĀBĀD—MANṢŪRA, SIND.



IN the Annual for 1903-4 [1] I gave an account of the ancient site of Brāhmanābād in Sind, and expressed my opinion upon the identity of the same. In this article I simply intend to supplement that account with another instalment as the result of further exploration during the season, 1908-9.

I selected for excavation three or four spots, but soon reduced these to two—one in the very centre of the ruins, close by the ancient mint site (W on plan), the other at the *thūl* or tower a few hundred yards to the east of that and near the village (G on plan). In my former article I stated that there had been at least two cities upon the site, and I tried to shew that the first Arab capital in Sind, Manṣūra, had been built upon the ruins of the old Hindu city, called by the Muhammadans Brāhmanābād. This my further excavations helped to confirm, and also shewed that there had been three distinct occupations.

On the first spot selected, in the middle of the ruins, I found pure white sand, without the admixture of any human remains, at a depth of about 8 feet from the present general surface of the ground. Upon this rests a layer, 2½ feet thick, of alluvial deposit, mixed with sand, in which no brickbats or other human remains are found; while above this, and up to the surface, is found alluvial earth full of brickbats, potsherds, bones, charcoal, ash and other indications of human habitation. The lines between the different layers are very sharp and distinct. It thus appears that an accumulation of river silt had overspread this part of the country to the depth of about 2½ feet before it was first occupied by settlers.

The uppermost walls and ruins of the third or last occupation were found to be very insignificant, the buildings being small with very small rooms, and the walls being built almost entirely of brickbats, a whole brick being very seldom found. After clearing away these walls, and digging down a few feet, we came upon a series of heavy brick foundations, spaced at uniform distances apart, each measuring about 7 feet by 3 feet. (See plate XXI.) The shape suggests the possibility of each

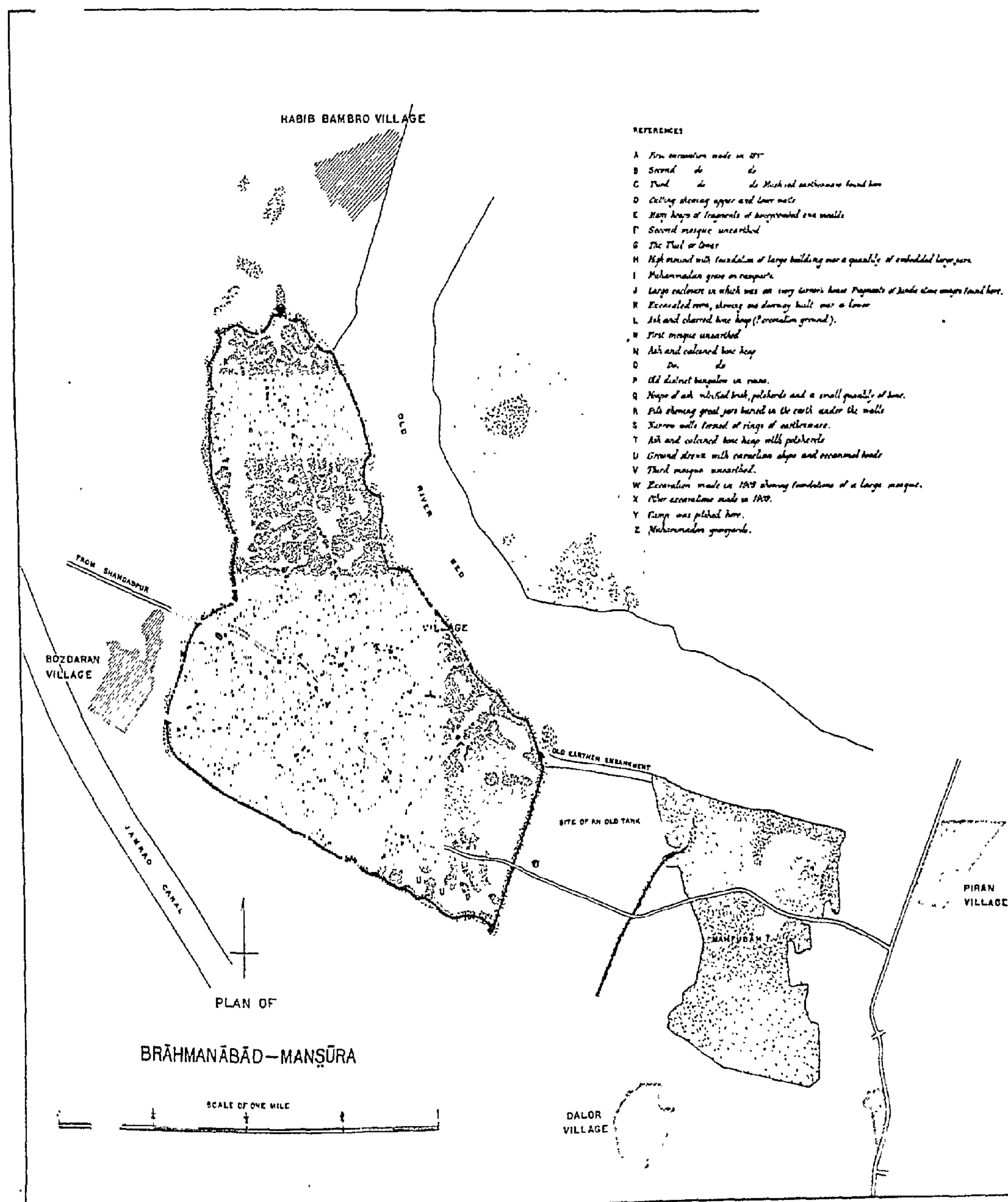
[1] Mr. Cousens first visited Brāhmanābād in 1895-96 but returned and excavated there in 1897. Cf. *Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-4, pp. 132 ff.; plates XLIV-L. [Ed.]

foundation having carried a pair of square pillars, such as we find frequently in old mosques; and the arrangement of the foundations further indicates the plan of a very large mosque, having its back, as usual, towards the west. Portions of what appears to be the end or north wall of the mosque were also laid bare. The whole of the north row of five pier foundations was found, and the whole or parts of three others in the second and third row was excavated. Beyond this, southwards, the ground was opened up at two places, shewn in the plan, but no foundations were discovered, nor any fragments of brick to speak of, the whole area having apparently been denuded of material for the building of the upper town.

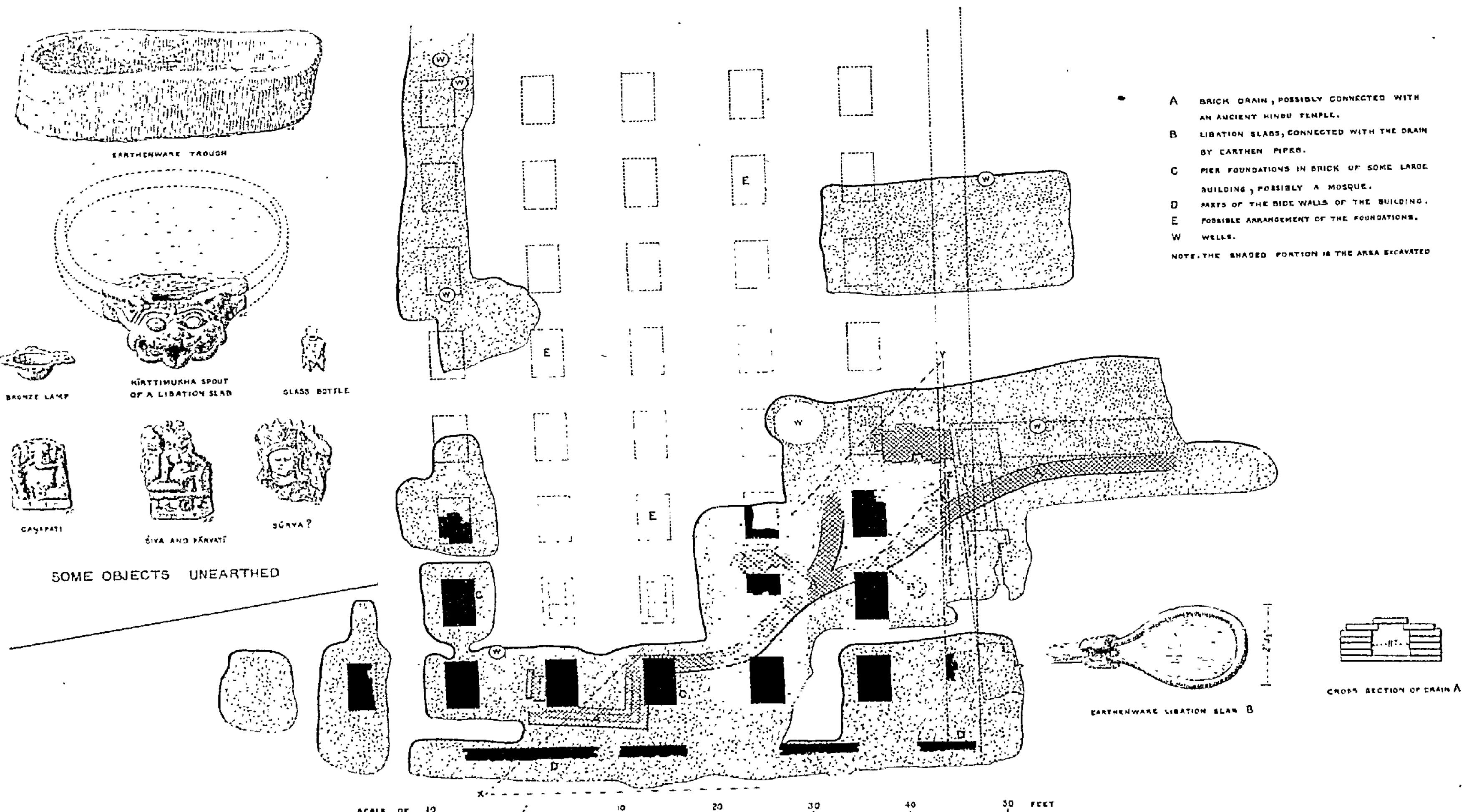


Fig. 1. BBB, Foundations. A. Brick drain. C Well.

Running diagonally across under these foundations, was found a drain, built of the largest bricks measuring $16\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. In the foundations, just described, the bricks, in great part, measure $14\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$. Connected with this drain were found pear-shaped libation slabs, or what appears to be such (marked BB on the plan). These are flat baked clay slabs with a low rim round them, and a pointed spout leading, in one case direct, and in the other through six-inch earthen pipes, into the brick drain. The first idea that occurred to me was that they might be bathing places, but the width of the slab, about 2′ 4″, is too small for this, for all the used water would splash off over the edges and not into it, and the rim is too low. I am, therefore, inclined to think they held some object which was periodically bathed, such as an image for worship. Had they a hole in the centre, they might have been taken for the *yōnis* of *liṅgas*. They, and the drain, were most likely connected with


HABIB BAMBRO VILLAGE
REFERENCES
F Second mosque unearthed
G The Thul or Tower
I Muhammadan grave on ramparts
L Ash and charred bone heap (Cremation ground).
M First mosque unearthed
N Ash and calcined bone heap
O Do. do
P Old district bungalow in ruins.
R Pits showing great jars buried in the earth under the walls
S Narrow walls formed of rings of earthenware.
T Ash and calcined bone heap with potsherds
V Third mosque unearthed.
Y Camp was pitched here.
Z Muhammadan graveyards.
OLD RIVER BED
FROM SHAHDADPUR
BOZDARAN VILLAGE
VILLAGE
OLD EARTHEN EMBANKMENT
SITE OF AN OLD TANK
JAMRAO CANAL
PIRAN VILLAGE
PLAN OF
BRĀHMANĀBĀD–MANṢŪRA
SCALE OF ONE MILE
DALOR VILLAGE

BRAHMANABAD—MANSURA



PLAN OF EXCAVATION.

some Brahmanical or Buddhist place of worship, and I would fain believe that what I wrote in my Progress Report for the year ending the 30th June 1897, namely, "that if we succeed in finding the foundations of the principal or Jāmi' Masjid at Mansūra, we shall find beneath it the foundation of the principal temple of Brāhmanābād," has been verified here. Found amongst these foundations, all in one place, were about two basketsful of the sherds of large broken earthenware pots with Persian or Arabic writing covering both the exterior and interior. This writing seems to be mostly composed of a name repeated over and over again, and it may be that the pots were similar to the Arabic talismanic cups, intended to contain water rendered specially efficacious as a healing agent by being brought in contact with the name of some revered local saint. Most of the pots shewn in the coloured illustration, in red and buff ware, were obtained in this excavation (Plate XXII). Upon one fragment is painted, in black, a two-humped camel, not now seen in Sind so far as I am aware.



Fig. 2. A. Brick drain. BBBB. Foundations. C. Well. D. Libation slab connected by pipe with drain A.

In my previous article on Brāhmanābād (p. 135) I described a narrow deep well composed of circular sections of burnt earthenware placed one upon the other.[1] In my excavations at this spot I discovered no less than seven, and found that they went down from the uppermost surface to the sand below the alluvial deposit (see C in Figs. 1 and 2). In most cases they were within the rooms of the houses and were no doubt private. In sinking one of these wells they had cut through a six-inch water pipe. They seem to point to the fact of the drying up or change in the course

[1] Similar earthenware wells have been found on the ancient site of Śrāvasti. *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1907-8, p. 119 [Ed.]

of the river, during the last occupation, when each householder had to sink his own well to provide this necessary of life, and, when these dried up, further occupation of the site became impossible.

Our investigations here made it very clear that to continue digging amongst the ruins would be practically waste of time, unless some special feature should disclose itself with promise of interesting results. It was found that the Arabs had used over again most of the material, which here meant bricks, of the older city, to

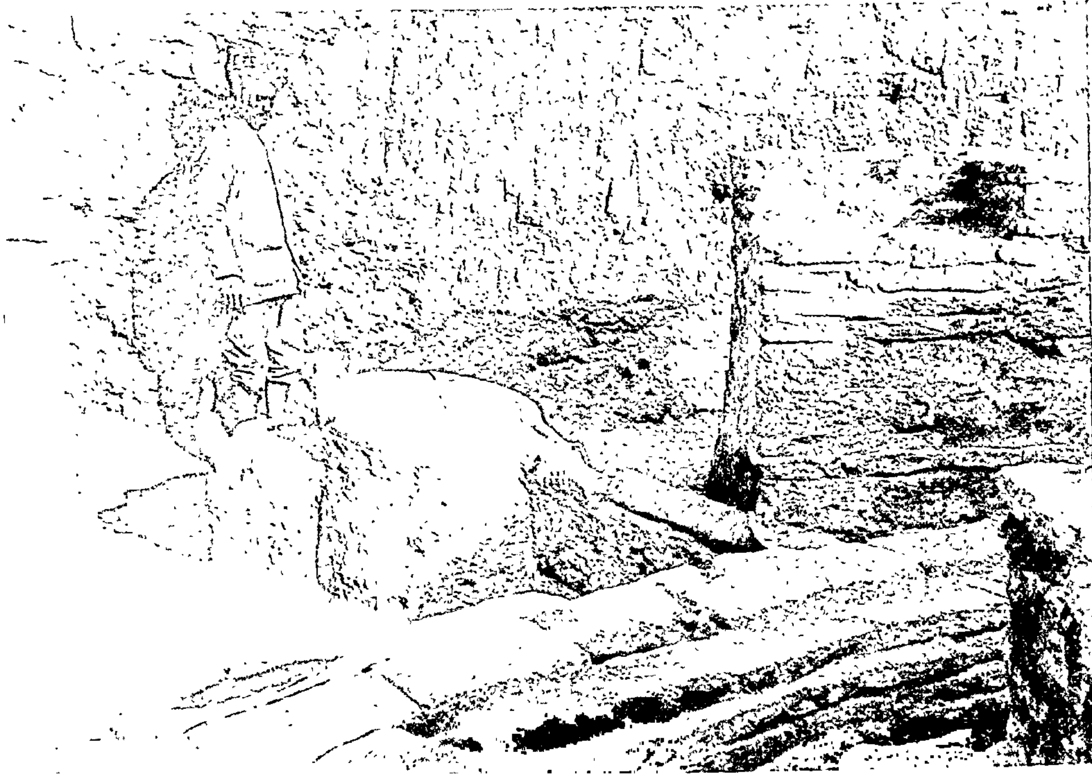
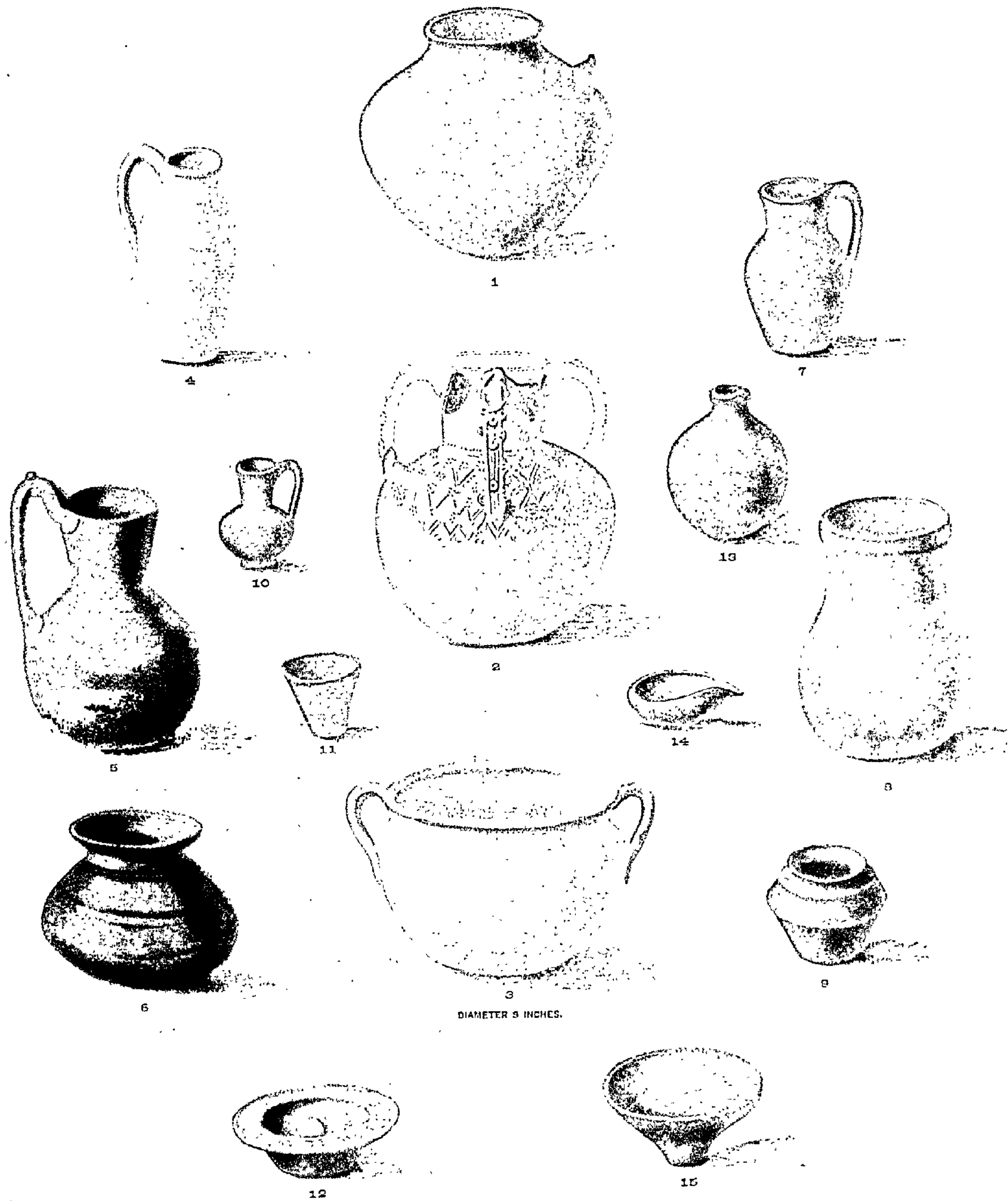


Fig. 3. Showing libation slab, leading by pipe into main drain.

build their own, and had left few traces of the latter beneath their own buildings. Subsequent settlers did the same with the ruins of the Arab city, and, after digging out of the *débris* all the useable brick they could find, again built their later, and perhaps the latest, town. There is thus little below the surface of either Brāhmanābād or Manṣūra to reward the excavator. With these ordinary brick-in-mud buildings there was no architecture to speak of, and no carved mouldings or statuary as is so often found on sites once occupied by stone buildings. Potsherds are abundant, but whole articles are exceedingly rare, and, as likely as not, a whole pot, when met with, is broken by the pick. Glassware is still rarer and up to now has been found in shapeless fragments. We were fortunate, however, in obtaining the only whole article in this material that has as yet come to light. It is a dainty little bowl of blue glass that seems to have been overlaid with white or cream enamel. But most of this has peeled off, the flaking and disintegrating surface shewing those iridescent colours peculiar to mother-of-pearl. This is shewn full size on Plate XXIII.

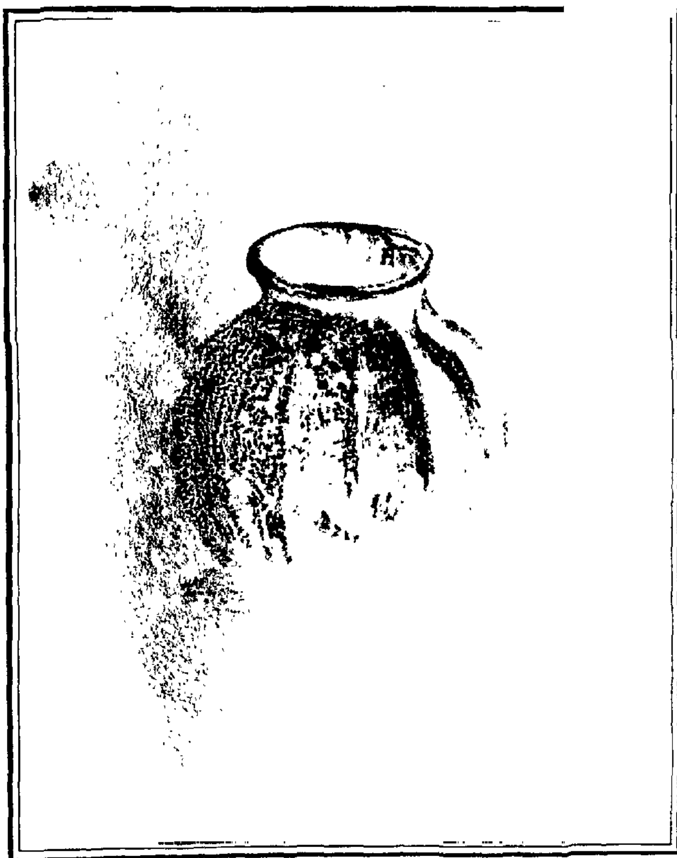
BRAHMANABAD: SIND.



Henry Cousens.

EXCAVATED POTTERY.

BRAHMANABAD. SIND.



EXCAVATED GLASS BOWL.

The *thūl* or tower, which we examined, is close to the village on the east side of the ruins, and is the loftiest pile still standing, being about 36 feet above the general ground level around. This tower-like mass of brickwork has puzzled every-one who has hitherto examined it. I had neither time nor funds to make any ex-cavation around it on the occasion of my previous visit to Brāhmanābād. It had been supposed to be the site of King Dolora's[1] palace, but an examination of the mound out of which it rises, shews that it was no part of a palace at all; nor was it a *burj* or bastion of a citadel which at one time I thought probable. Right in the middle or heart of the mound, on the top, on the east side of the tower, was found a square well in the solid brickwork seven feet square (B on plan and section, Plate XXIV). This had been partly filled in with débris from the fallen walls. The tower is but a portion of the walls of a building which surrounded the well. We excavated the south side of the basement of the mound and came upon a heavy square brick basement, 50 feet square, below ground level. The south side of this was unearthed, together with portions of the return walls along the east and west side; and, on plotting this independently of the central well, it was found that the latter occupied the exact centre of the square basement. Upon the west side of the tower is a small portion of the original brick facing shewing a few lines of vertical offsets and recesses. On the plan these are shewn at C and are symmetrically repeated in dotted lines around what was, most probably, the square plan of the original building.



Fig. 4. Remains of brick arch at AA.

[1] Dolora is the last legendary Hindu king of Brāhmanābād, owing to whose wickedness the place was destroyed.

There seems to have been a passage from the north side, up a ramp or stair, the central well, reaching it upon the west side, and not entering straight into it. It is shewn in the plan and just below the letter B on the section. It would appear to have continued to ascend against the inner wall of the tower and to have wound spirally round the well, ascending over itself, but as a wooden staircase whose beam ends were fixed into the brick wall. In order to turn about, an arch of brick, set on edge, was thrown across at D, some portions of which still project from the walls (see AA in fig. 4). Mr. Bellasis says:[1] "In the time of the Kaloras, so much [of the tower] remained that the reigning prince ordered the demolition of the steps leading to the top, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of robbers, who used the tower as a place of observation, from which to watch travellers as a preliminary to plundering them. A large portion of the tower, without the steps, was standing till about thirty-five years ago, when it fell, and has since remained in much the same state as it is now—a mere fragment."

Upon excavating the *débris* from the inside of the well we came upon a layer of fragments of carved bricks (some of which are shewn on the accompanying drawing) placed loosely together, and with no attempt at design or arrangement. These were the only decorative bricks found in or about the *thūl* and are of a material superior to the rest of the masonry. Immediately beneath this were found cross beams of wood, or what once was wood, for we found it in the state of powder filling up the shapes retained in the brick and mud masonry, except where the butt-ends were better preserved in the side walls. The inner central diagonal square between the beams, and the triangular corner spaces, were filled in with brickwork, while beneath this was solid brickwork set in mud.

The carved bricks were such as are usually found decorating Buddhist *stupas* in Sind, such as Thūl Mīr Rukan, Depar Ghāngro, and Mīrpūr k̲h̲ās; and the presence of these, coupled with the general plan of the ruin, as revealed by our excavation, leads me to believe it to be the ruin of a *stūpa*, but one that has been rebuilt in later times. The carved bricks may have been some recovered from the ruin of the original *stūpa*, and, as sacred material, placed in the floor of the chamber. Convinced that this was a Buddhist *thūl*, and thinking that the relic might possibly have been buried in the heart of the masonry below the floor of this chamber, I excavated down through the solid brickwork 26 feet to virgin soil, but with no result. I therefore think it likely that the relic was preserved in the chamber above the wooden cross beams, and that access to it for worship was obtained by the passage leading up from the north.

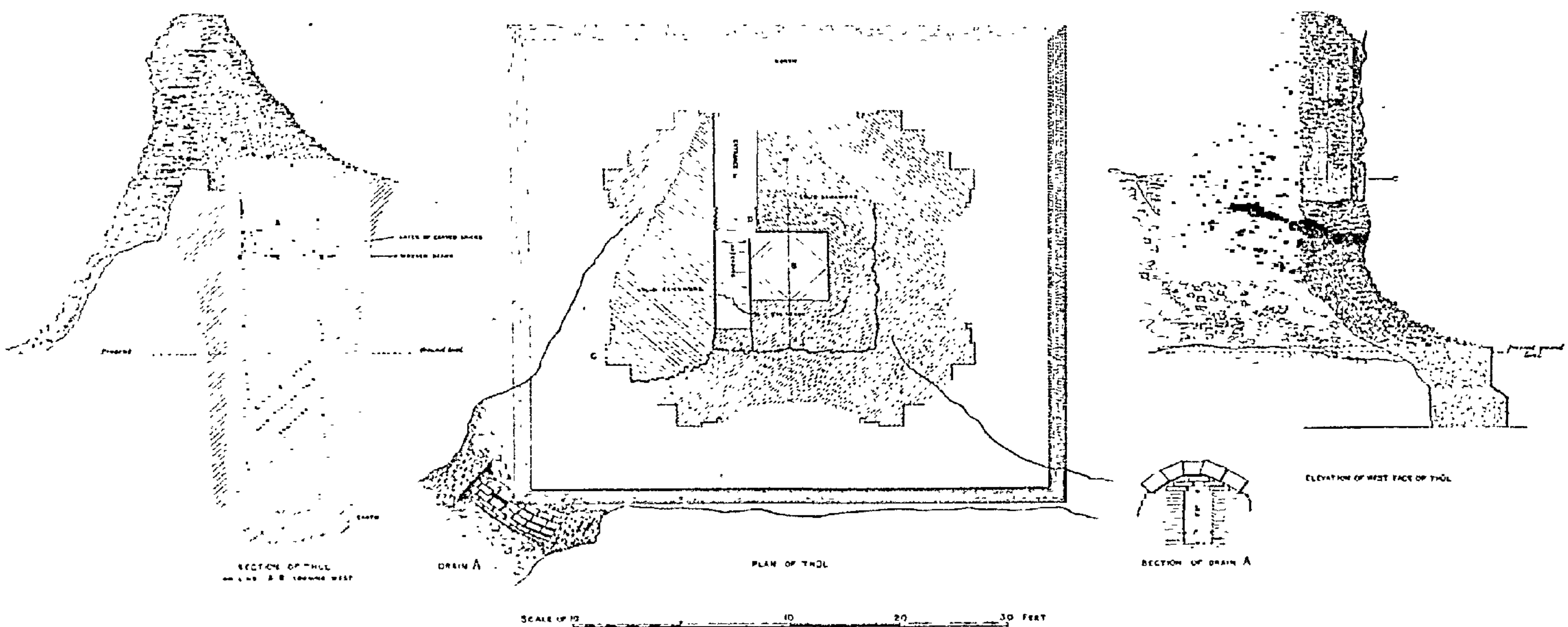
Running under the south-west corner of the basement of the *thūl* is a deep brick drain, most carefully constructed of very old bricks of the largest size. It is 2 feet 2 inches deep by 1 foot broad and is covered in at the top by bricks corbelled forward to meet. This covering is protected by a transverse arching of bricks (see drain A on plan). If the *thūl* were a late reconstruction, as I think, it would account for this and the deviation in the style of the building from that of earlier *stūpas*. Another circumstance which indicated later work is the fact that the whole of the basement below ground is built of brick and white lime mortar.

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p 424.

BRAHMANABAD—MANSURA

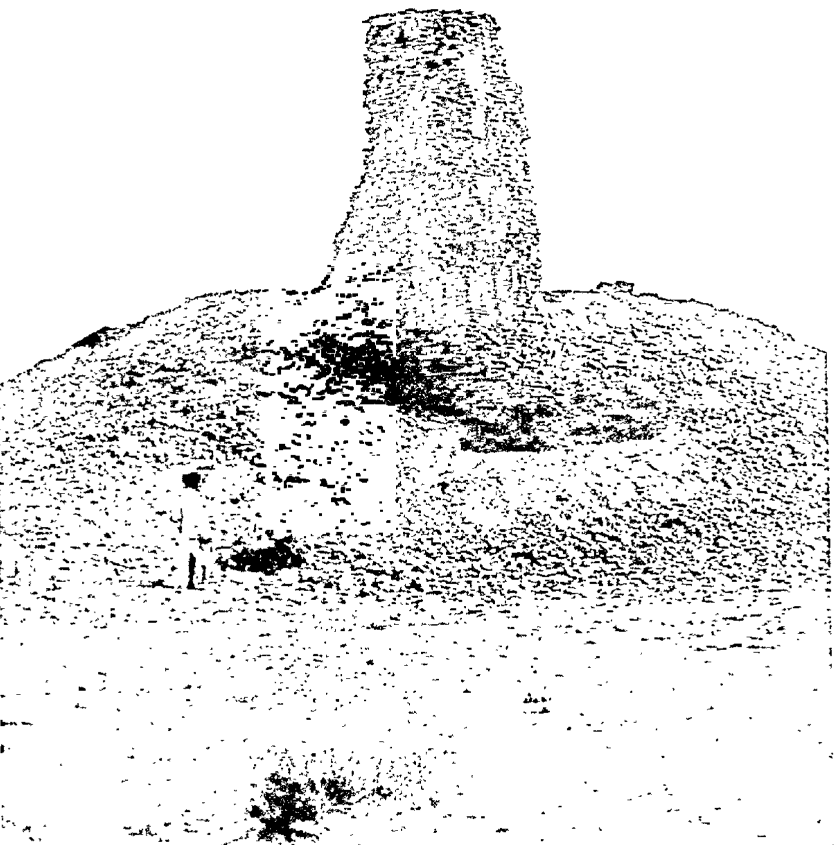


CARVED BRICKS FROM THE THŪL

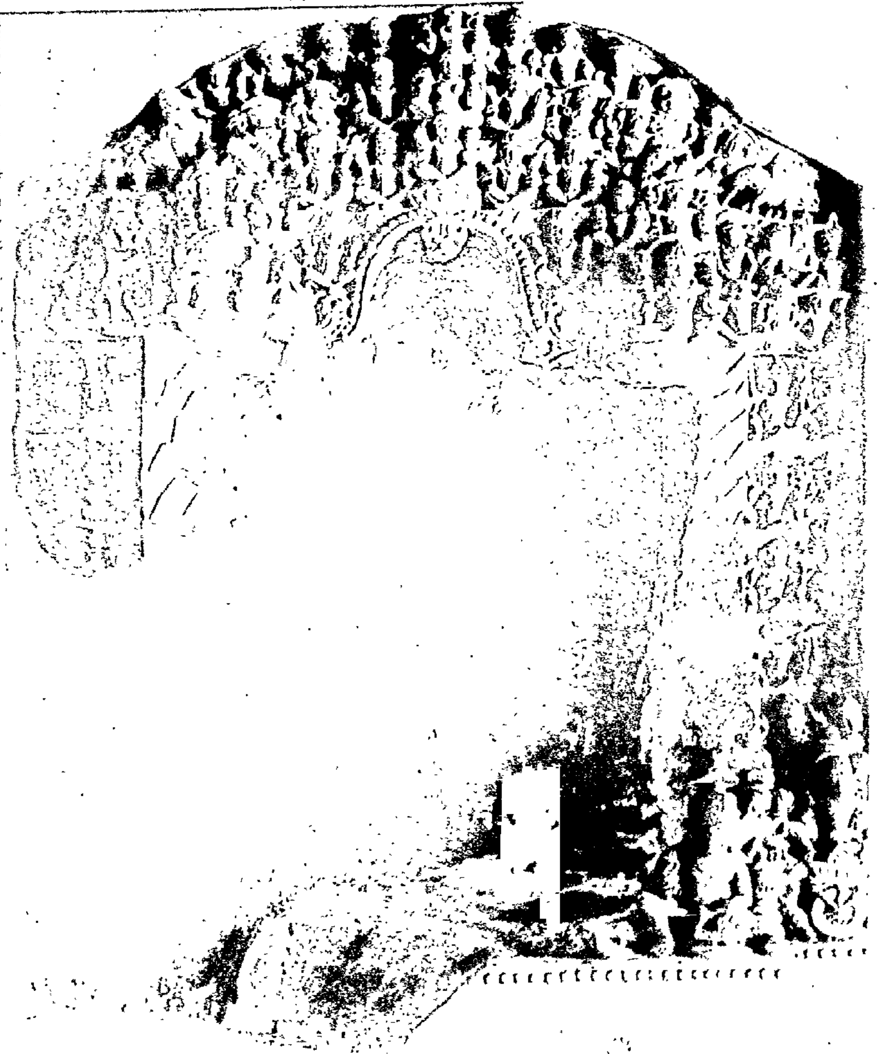


PLAN, SECTION AND ELEVATION OF THUL OR TOWER.

BRAHMANABAD—MANSURA



(a) THE THUL OR TOWER FROM THE WEST, BEFORE EXCAVATION.



(b) IMAGE FRAME, IN BLACKSTONE, FOUND AT BRAHMANABAD.

The bricks taken out of the bottom of the excavated well, in the middle of the *stūpa*, measured $17'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ the largest found at Brāhmanābād, and larger than those used in the tower above. It is thus possible that the core or stump of the old *stūpa* was retained and enveloped in the brickwork of the new.

Mr. Bellasis, in his account of his finds at Brāhmanābād, professes to have discovered a set of chessmen. He writes as follows:

"In this house we were further repaid by finding nearly a complete set of ivory chessmen, one set white, the other black. The kings and queens are about three inches high, and the pawns about one; the other pieces of different intermediate heights. All have been made for use on a board with holes, for each piece has a peg in it, similar to chessmen used now-a-days on board ship, to prevent the pieces being easily knocked down and the game disturbed. The ivory of these too is in a very decayed state, and very brittle; every particle of animal matter seemed completely exhausted, and the ivory reduced to a substance not unlike lime or chalk. Dice were also found, — some square cubes of ivory, numbered exactly as dice used at the present day; others, the long dice, used by the natives to play the game of Punchweshee. The discovery of these chessmen is a curious fact; they are probably the oldest known set ine xistence, and tend to confirm Sir William Jones' assertion that chess was a game of Brahminical origin."[1]

I am afraid these little articles of ivory must cease to exist as chessmen and must henceforth be considered mere little balusters or spindles of some furniture rails I have reproduced (Plate XXVI) two illustrations from the *Illustrated London News* of the 21st February, 1857, with the kind permission of the editor of that paper, in which are shewn these same articles, numbered 10. Had they been chessmen, with pegs to keep them steady, the pegs would not have been required at both top and bottom of the pieces. If we examine the two upper pieces on the right hand side of the illustration we find that one has a hole in the *top* for a peg, while the other has a peg in the *top* and a hole in the bottom for another peg. Both the upper pieces on the left hand side have holes in the *top* for pegs. When in London recently, I examined these pieces, which now repose in the British Museum, and the use of them became so obvious that I wonder

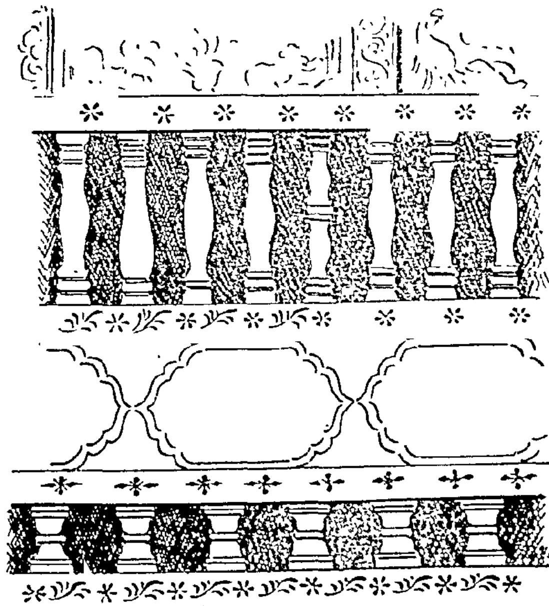


Fig. 5.

[1] Sir William Jones' paper *On the Indian game of chess* was published in *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 15, ff. The present argument does not, of course, tend to throw any doubt on the Indian origin of the game of chess which is sufficiently established by the Sanskrit name *chaturaṅga* above. This word, originally meaning the four membered [army], was, together with the game, introduced into Persia where it became *shaṭranj* and in its Persian form the word came back to India, probably at the time of the Muhammadan conquest, *cf.* also Macdonell, *J. R. A. S.* for 1898, pp. 117 ff. [Ed.]

how Mr. Bellasis allowed his fancy to run away with him so. In figure 5 I have drawn a piece of a similar ivory rail adorning the back of an old settee in the palace at Maisur,[1] and a restoration of his "chessmen" in fig. 6. I do not say my restoration is correct, but it shews the style of rail, the "pawns" being nothing but little knobs or finials along the top, with a larger one at the corners. In the balusters or spindles pegs were required both top and bottom to fix them nto the rails. A use is also shown for the pieces, No. 12 (Plate XXVI*a*), said to be parts of the chessboard.[2]

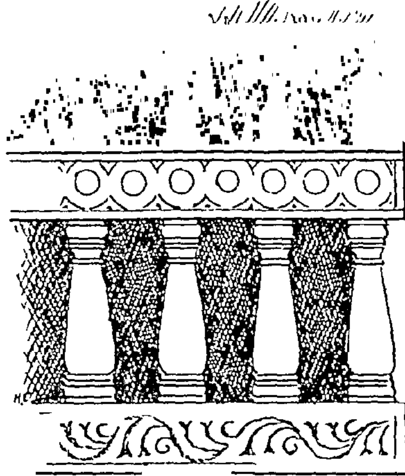


Fig. 6.

I cannot so easily dispose of his dice, not having noticed them in the collection in the British Museum. In his illustration he shews but one piece, with little circles carved upon it. In fig. 7 I have given similarly marked pieces of ivory or bone, found by me, which are not dice but portions of a necklace, the circles being mere ornament. The pieces are drilled for a cord to pass through.

Mr. Bellasis writes: "The followers of the prophet were such zealous image-breakers, that in their invasions and conquests they rarely failed to mutilate every idol they saw. Among the Kafir Kotes near Jerruck, where some Buddhist remains were found highly ornamented with figures, not one escaped defacement,—even on a cornice, where the figure of Budh was repeated again and again, the chisel of the iconoclast had taken the trouble to deface every head. It may therefore be inferred from finding these figures entire [which he found at Brāhmanābād], that Hinduism was still paramount in Brāhmanābād at the time of its destruction by an earthquake, and that the tide of Muhammadan invasion had either barely reached so far into Sind or that the conquest was far from complete; and this is an incidental coincidence which accords with history" [? tradition.]

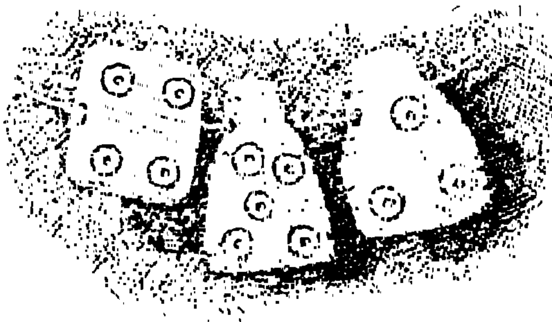
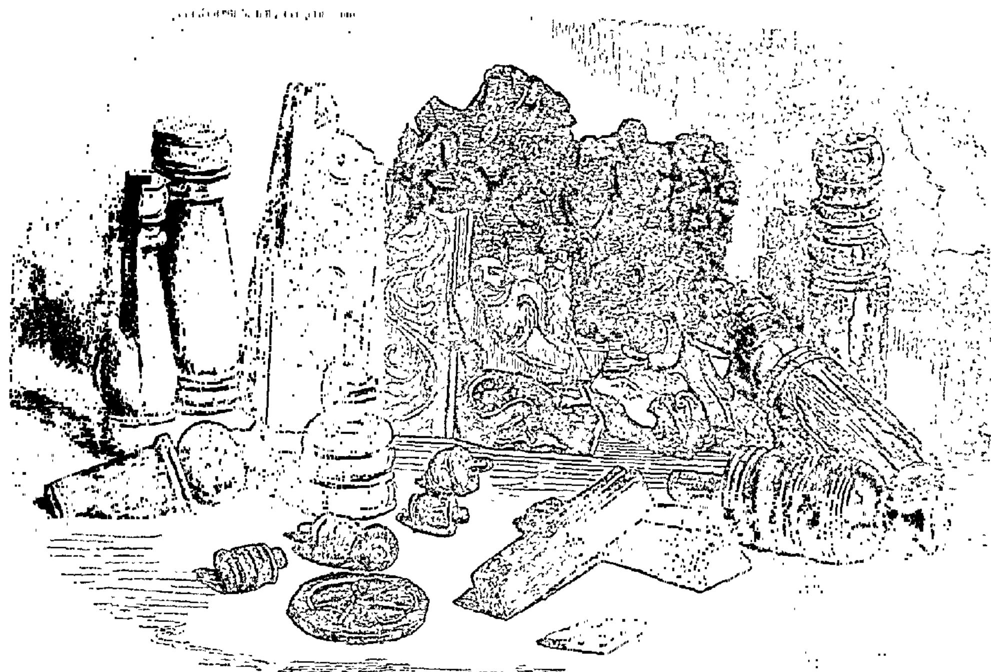


Fig. 7.

The beautifully carved black stone image frame shewn in Plate XXV was dug up by me on the site. It probably surrounded an image of Sūrya, who is frequently repeated among the multitude of these little images, but the main image was gone and the frame was broken into fragments. We also found numbers of pieces of broken images, some of a large one of Gaṇēśa, a portion of the carved back

[1] *Technical Art Series*, 1903, Plate XIX.

[2] Since writing the above I have bought a Sindhi chair with spindles used in it as I have shown them in Fig. 6, except that the smaller pieces hang as drops from the lower rail beneath the spindles.



a. IVORY BALUSTERS OF FURNITURE RAIL (SO CALLED CHESSMAN) ETC., FOUND BY MR. BELLASIS IN 1854.



b. OBJECTS FOUND BY MR. BELLASIS IN 1854.

of an *āsana* or image seat, etc. I am afraid that Mr. Bellasis did not, after all, see the ruins of Brāhmanābād; that is, he did not dig deep enough to reach the Brāhmanābād layer. His conclusion as to the fate of the city were based upon the state in which he saw the uppermost ruins, those of a town or city subsequent even to Manṣūra, unless these latest ruins are those of a Manṣūra rebuilt after some great disaster.

Had the last city been overwhelmed by an earthquake, as Mr. Bellasis asserts, we should have found personal ornaments and other articles of value beneath the fallen walls which were supposed to have buried the inhabitants. We cleared away masses of walling, lying intact as they fell, shewing that they had not been disturbed since, but found no such objects. And it is in this uppermost layer that we find the abundance of bones, ash, broken pottery, and quantities of charcoal (remains of burnt beams) that led him to his conclusions.

It is in the upper layer that are found most of the beads and coins, especially the later Muhammadan coins. But there is a total absence of anything of value. Corroded copper coins are plentiful, silver exceedingly rare, and gold are totally absent. Nor are there any domestic utensils of any value, though they surely must have had such in metal. There is little but broken pottery, and this of the very commonest kind. There is no doubt each layer was thoroughly exploited and ransacked both for treasure and building material by the settlers of each successive period.

The small amount of charcoal found in the uppermost ruins shews that there could not have been a general conflagration, but that houses here and there had been burnt—the charcoal being generally found in lumps in the side walls where beams have burnt back into their sockets. The houses, built with thick walls of brick, laid in mud, and, perhaps, plastered, and with low mud roofs, were not such as to lend themselves readily to a general conflagration. The amount of brick found on the site, in rolling mounds, covering, perhaps, two square miles, is so vast that one must conclude that in those days it was cheap enough for the poorest to use, and, hence, wood, or at least substantial brushwood, required to burn it, was plentiful. Everything points to this part of the country having been well watered and well wooded twelve hundred years ago.

Though excavation upon the site is interesting, that interest is not commensurate with the cost of digging, nor have this year's explorations yielded any results of special value beyond the confirmation of the fact of a Muhammadan city (Manṣūra) overlying the remains of a Hindu city (Brāhmanābād.)

HENRY COUSENS.

EXCAVATIONS AT AMARĀVATI.

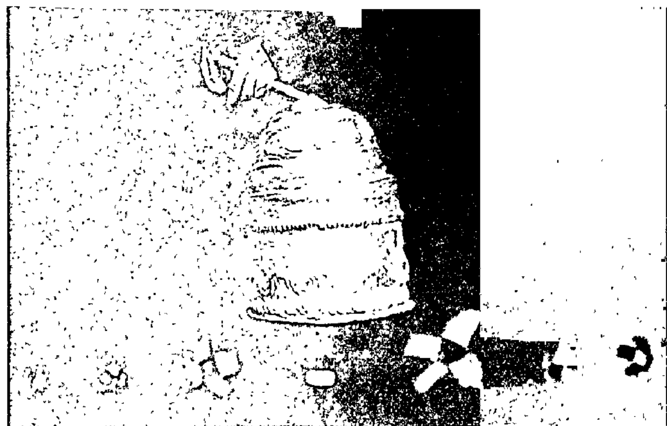
IN a former paper[1] on Amarāvatī an account was given of some excavations at the site of the great *stūpa* which chiefly consisted of an extension of the excavated space outside the four gates. This work has been continued, and further exploration has been made in the north and north-west of the mound at some distance from the centre of the *stūpa* itself. These new excavations have yielded results in the form of walls which are interesting in some ways, but which are of a fragmentary and inconclusive nature, owing to the depredations of the villagers, who for many years had exploited the mound for bricks and other building material. Thus, though traces of walls have been everywhere met with, they are generally in a ruined condition. However, some discoveries of larger interest were made, and these will be briefly described. The majority of the marble sculptures unearthed are more or less fragmentary, and they may have been used either in the decoration of the great central *stūpa*, or on some of the smaller surrounding ones, of which various remnants have come to light. That these were adorned with marble sculptures, as is the case with the one previously discovered at the south gate, is sufficiently evident; but where the sculptures are not found *in situ*, the difficulty in determining their original position will be obvious.

At the south gate excavations were made on the west side exactly opposite the small *stūpa* alluded to above. Various traces of ruined foundations of brick walls were found, some of which were circular, as well as a number of marbles, but all in a fragmentary condition. A discovery of some interest was made at this point, but here again the depredations of previous diggers had robbed it of much of its importance. When digging into the bank of earth, a round object made of mortar, and about 6″ in diameter, was found amongst the loose soil. It appeared at first to be a solid ball and nothing more, but when opened, it revealed a globular pottery relic casket and lid (Plate XXVII, fig. *a*), containing a gold reliquary in the form of a *dagoba*, 3½″ high, surmounted by an umbrella. This reliquary is made of very thin sheets of pure gold embossed with crude ornament. The dome lifts off the cylinder and inside were a small piece of bone and six flowers in thin leaf gold. Plate

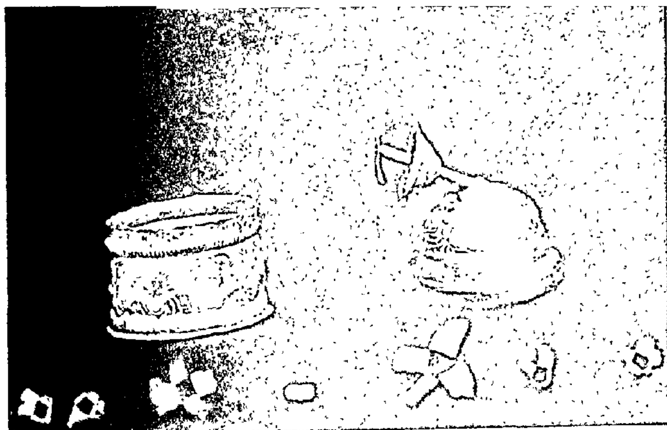
[1] *A. S. R.* for 1905-6, pp. 116 ff.



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.

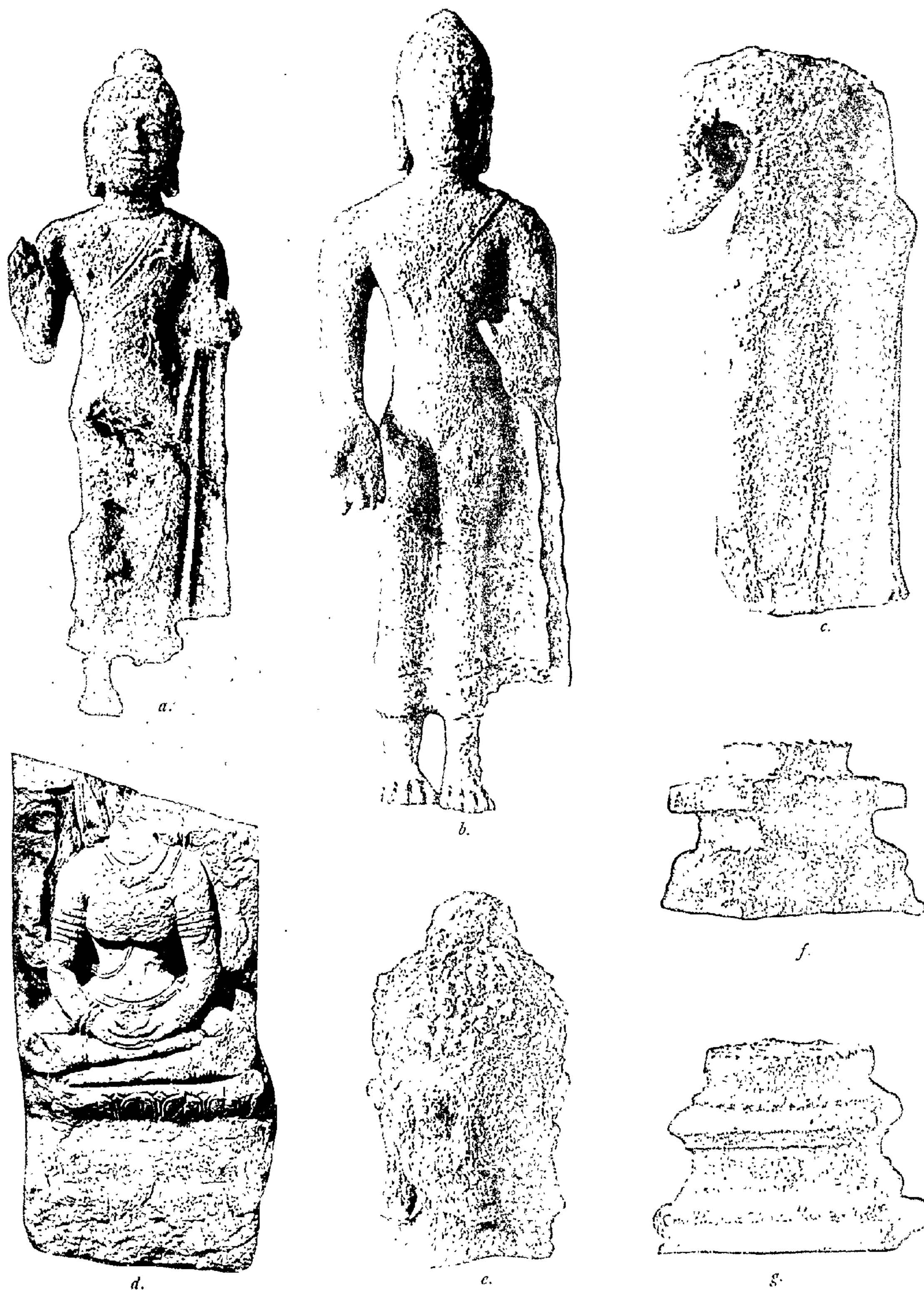


f.



g.

GOLDEN RELIC-CASKET AND OTHER FINDS.



a. b. c. d. e. f. g.

BRONZE STATUETTES.

XXVII, Fig. *b* illustrates the casket, bone and flowers, Fig. *c* shows them with the lid and cylinder detached, and Fig. *d* is the casket before opening.

The only building yet discovered in the vicinity, in which this casket could have originally been placed, is the small *stūpa* at the south gate, from which it was probably thrown out after the dome was ruined. It will be remembered that only the upright side walls of this building now remain intact, the dome having entirely disappeared. As the relic-casket must originally have been placed at the base of this dome, as is usual in such monuments, it would undoubtedly have disappeared with it, had its nature not been concealed by the envelope of mortar. As it was, there was nothing about it to attract attention, so that it either fell out or was thrown out unnoticed, thus escaping destruction.

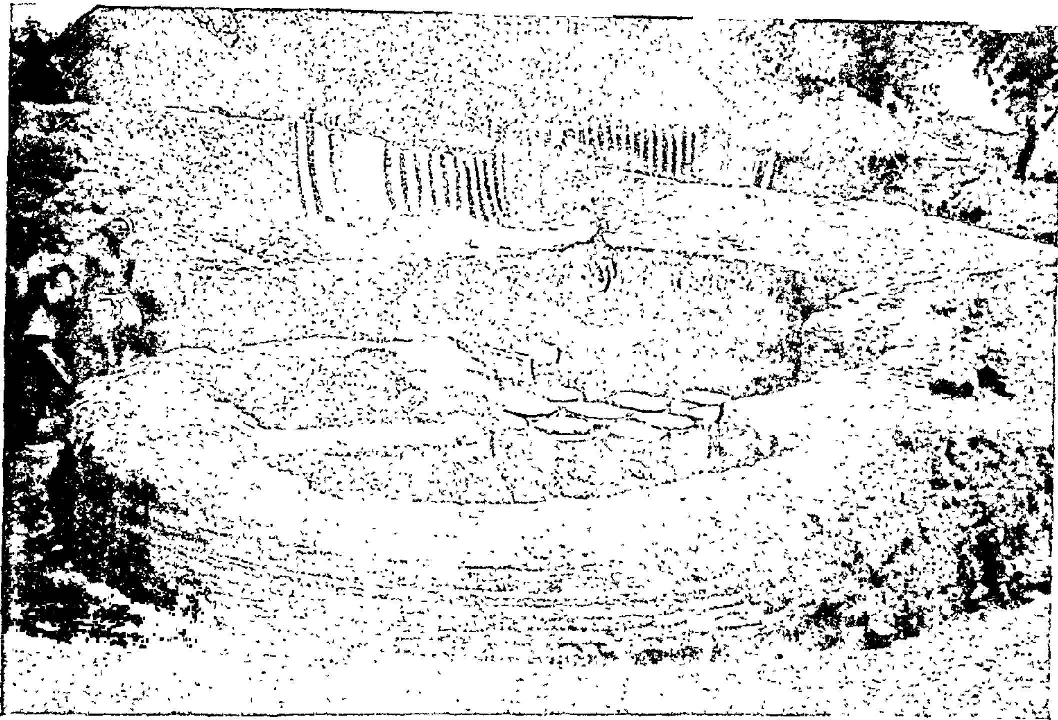


Fig. 1.

Another discovery was also made at a distance of 350 feet due west from the centre of the *stūpa* enclosure. It occurred in this way. Rumours reached me about the unearthing of some bronze images by some Vaddars in search of building material many years ago, but at first nothing definite could be ascertained. Persistent enquiry, however, resulted in an old man stating that those people, after having removed some bricks of which they were in search, found several bronze images, some of which were complete. It was at first proposed to use them as old metal, but on a consultation among them, superstitious fears as to what might occur prevailed, and the images were restored to the place where they had been found. It was difficult to ascertain where exactly this locality was, but at last it turned out to be near a Margosa tree at the spot I have mentioned. On digging here I found indeed

some bronze fragments a few feet beneath the surface, and below these again the cast-bronze images with their bases detached as illustrated in Plate XXVIII, figs. *a-c* and *e-g*. These represent standing figures of Buddha and are doubtless contemporary with the great *stūpa*.

Figure *f* of Plate XXVII is a celt from the *stūpa* mound. Figure *d* of Plate XXVIII was found a short distance from the *stūpa* above noted.

At the extensions beyond the north and west gates several fragmentary marbles and traces of brick walls, all incomplete, were unearthed. Figure *e* of Plate XXVII is a marble lotus patera, 15″ in diameter. The small ivory handle, 5½ inches in length, shown in figure *g* of the same plate was also found here. Various other marbles, fragmentary beads and small objects were also found, but mostly not in their original position. Selections of them appear in Plates XXIX—XXXI.

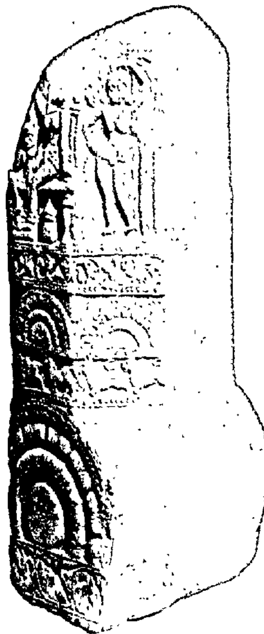
The brick foundations of another small *stūpa* were found 220 feet north-west of the centre of the main *stūpa* site. The diameter of this building is 21 feet, the walls being three feet in thickness, while two cross walls run through the centre. But the main interest attaching to it lies in its proximity to a group of seventeen neolithic pyriform tombs, which stand adjacent to, and partly under, its north circuit (Figs. 1 and 2).

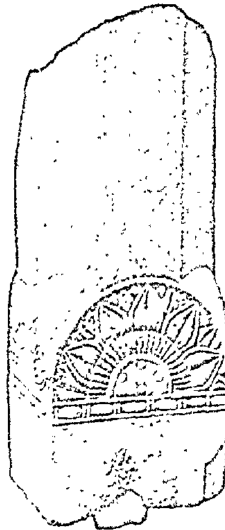
The walls themselves have been much damaged by diggers searching after bricks, but, fortunately, enough remains to determine the nature of the building and thereby afford some clue to the age of the tombs in question, a clue which the wanton destruction alluded to above had all but deprived us of. Hitherto nothing of a definite nature has been found in conjunction with neolithic tombs which could fix their date with certainty. They have generally been assigned to a period some centuries subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era, but this tentative dating has never been more than an assumption. Now, however, we are furnished with definite data bearing on the problem, so that the discovery is of no little importance.

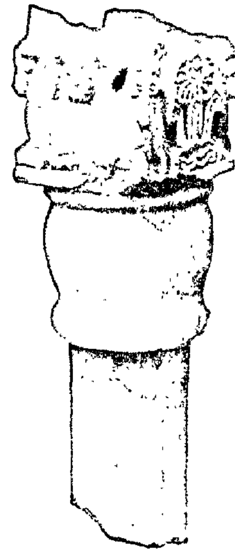
For there can be no doubt at all but that the tombs are of the neolithic type. They lie some seven feet underground and contain earth, broken pottery, and a number of small *kalasams* or pots of red polished ware of the same kind as those found at the prehistoric site of Perambair (Fig. 2).

This much being certain, the interest attaching to their position relative to the little *stūpa* is obvious. For the latter stands at a slightly higher level and must, of course, be later than the tombs. It is, indeed, probably contemporary with the main *stūpa* itself. But it may be even earlier, for certain inscribed rail stones have been found in the vicinity of a date prior to the Christian era, and the foundations in question may very well have belonged to one of the earlier *stūpas* which undoubtedly existed at this site long anterior to the erection of the main monument. In any case, these neolithic tombs are older than the *stūpa* which they adjoin and which has partly been built over them.

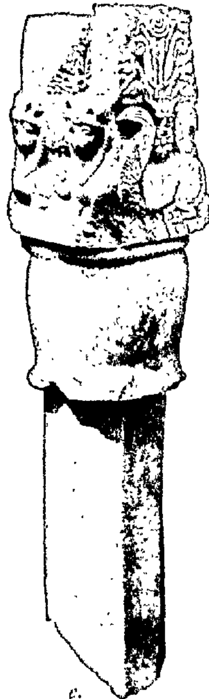
Round the walls of the *stūpa* are traces of a procession path, 3′ 6″ broad, formed of concrete, 2″ thick, which was carried over the nearest of the urns, and must accordingly have been built after the time of their deposit. What this period may have been it is impossible to say, but it must be one much earlier than the date generally accepted for such remains. The discovery of large numbers of prehistoric


a.


b.


c.


d.


e.


f.

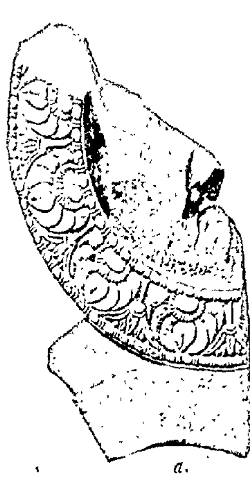


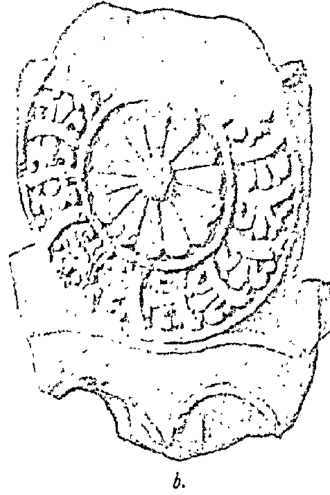
STONE FRAGMENTS.

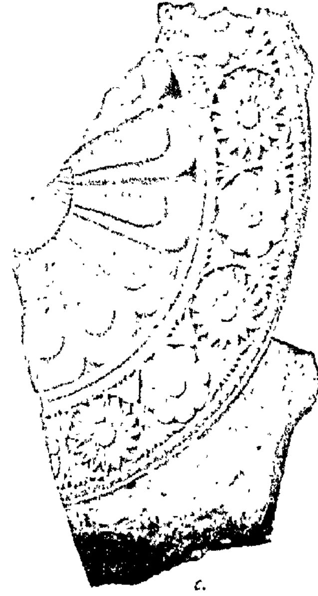


STONE FRAGMENTS.

EXCAVATIONS AT AMARAVATI.


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b.


c.

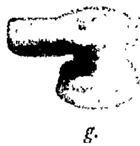

d.


e.


f.


h.


i.


g.

STONE FRAGMENTS.

implements of the palæolithic and neolithic types in the country surrounding Amarāvatī, and in the vicinity of the *stūpa* itself, attests the existence of a large

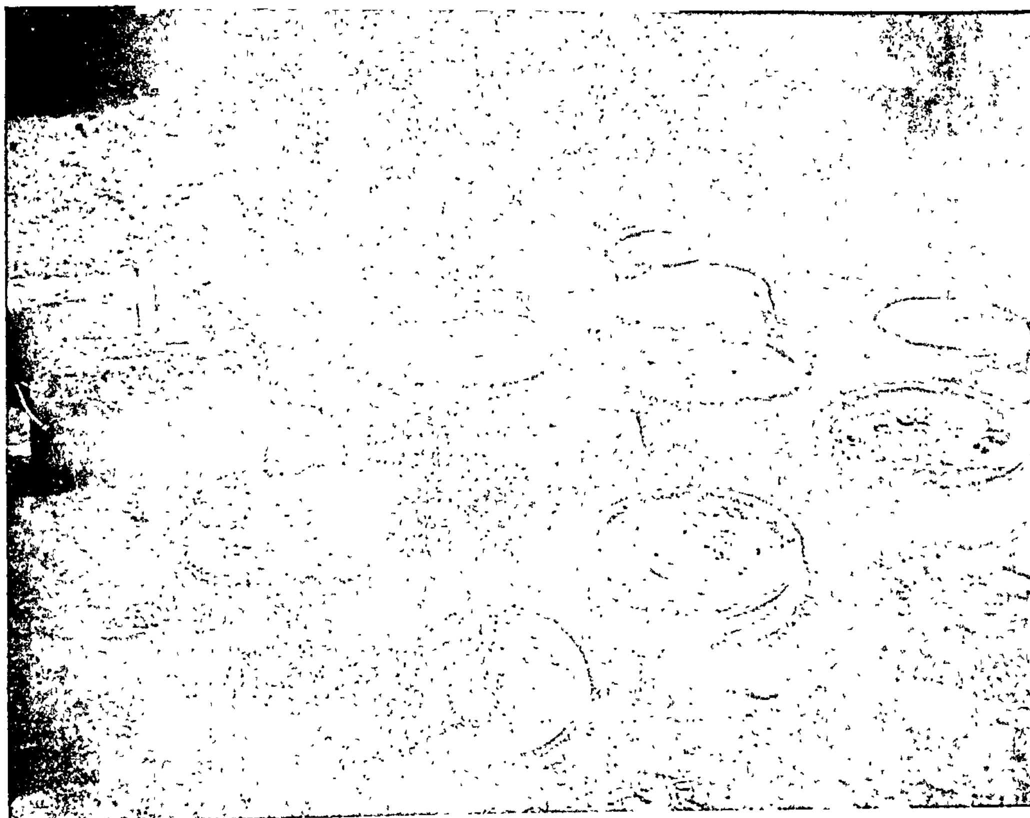


Fig. 2.

population in times most probably long before the foundation here of the earliest of the Buddhist monastic buildings.

A. REA.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS AT PERAMBAIR.[1]

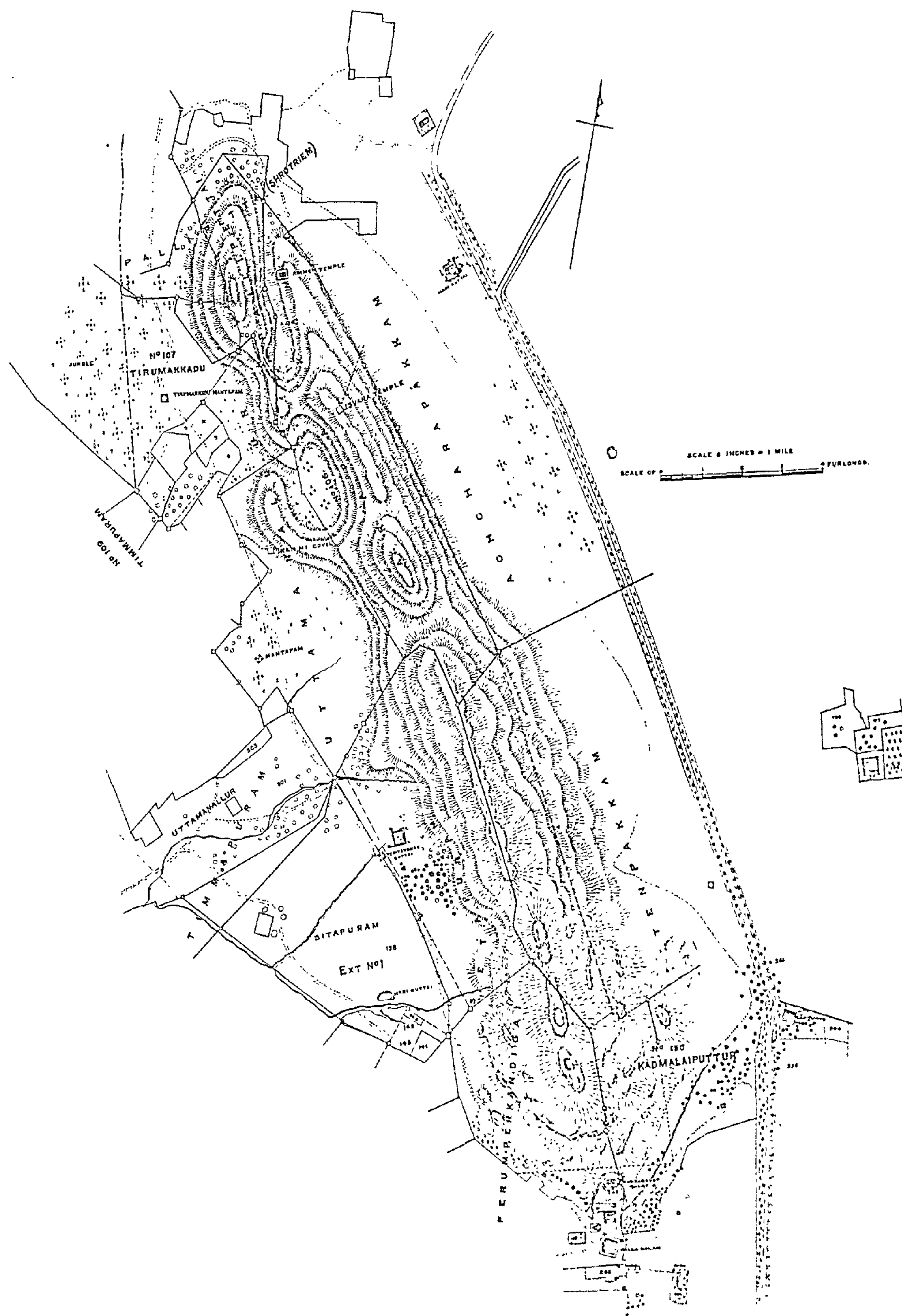
IN the south of the Chingleput District is a range of hills which is classed as a reserved forest. Around the base of the hills are numerous prehistoric remains (Plate XXXII). These are situated a short distance from the bottom slope and generally consist of stone circles of sizes varying from eight to fifty feet in diameter and formed of rough stone boulders. In others, the stones have been removed and the site of deposit is only marked by a low mound which must at one time have been much higher, but has been reduced in height by the action of the weather.

The reservation of the site has been the means of protecting the majority of the remains from the unrestricted depredations of treasure seekers, and the result is that many of the circles contain deposits in a varying state of preservation. Such mounds as are outside the reserve, usually show traces of having been dug into. The mounds are generally covered with a dense growth of prickly pear, which has afforded further means of protection. The surface soil is a coarse gravel with a substratum of clay. This is an unsuitable soil for the preservation of ceramic relics, as its expansion and contraction according to the moisture to which it is subjected, result in fracture of the pottery.

The deposits are generally found at a depth of two to seven feet below the surface, and are contained in long oblong pottery cists rounded at the ends and standing on two or three rows of short legs (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1). They vary in length from two to seven feet and resemble those found at the Pallavaram site, with the exception that, whereas those at the latter place have two rows of legs, those at this site, whether large or small, almost invariably have three. One oblong cist is unusual, in that it has no legs (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 2). But no large specimens of this form appear.

[1] Though the name of the village of Perambair has been adopted as the title of this paper, it does not imply that these remains are found only in its vicinity. It is situated at the west end of the range of hills, and is the place where excavation was begun. Among the hills are seven other villages, within the boundaries of which prehistoric remains of this class exist. These villages are Acharapākkam, Kadamalaiputtūr, Sitāpuram, Thenpākkam, Thimmāpūram, Thenmekkādu and Uthamanallūr.

EXCAVATION AT PERAMBAIR



Some tombs of pyriform shape also exist at Perambair but they are comparatively few in number. Text illustration, Fig. 1. shows one of them from cromlech No. 9.

The main deposits are found in the cists themselves, but as with other sites, subsidiary deposits of pottery and iron implements are often found outside and around them. Some of these lie close to the surface and appear at intervals down to the main deposit, which may be as much as seven feet from the surface ; but it is generally less.

About eight cromlechs adjoining the village of Perambair and situated both within and without the reserve, were examined on the first excavation of the site,

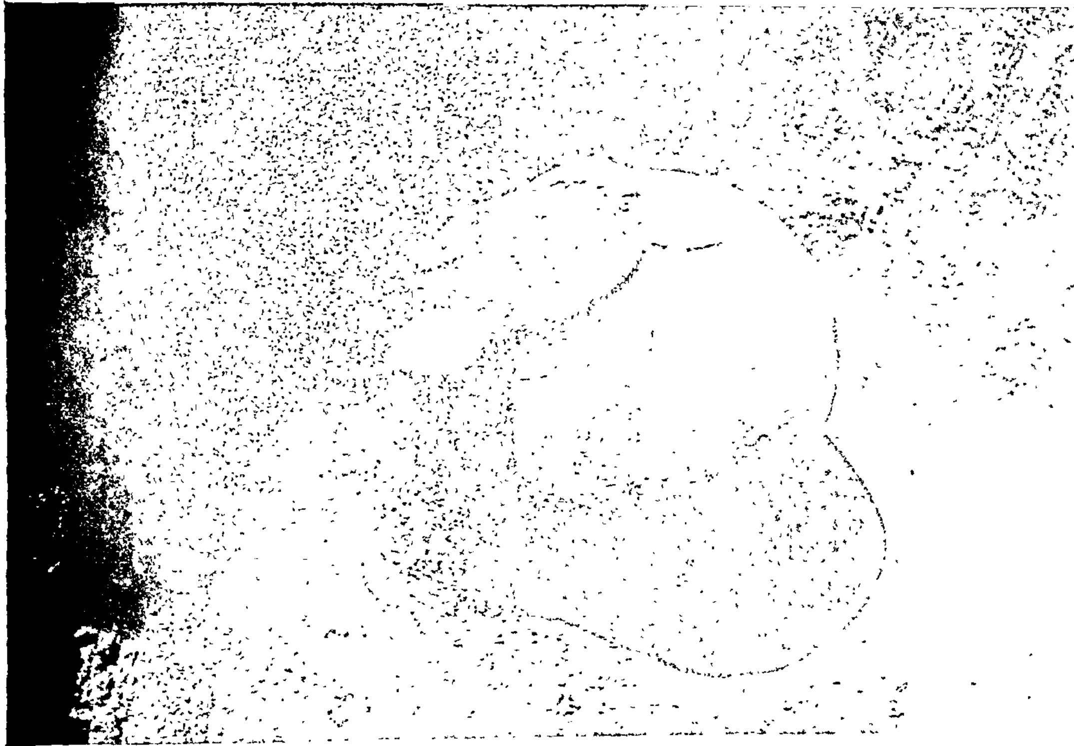


Fig. 1.

but though numerous traces of pottery were found, comparatively few of the articles were in a perfect condition. These consist of stone and iron implements and weapons, pottery, bones and shell ornaments. Some of the most typical of them are detailed in the lists below. Although a blackstone image of Gaṇēśa has been included in the list (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 28), there is little or no reason to suppose that it is prehistoric. It was found in the centre and close to the surface of a small mound some twelve feet in diameter and about fifty feet from the tank of Perambair, which lies north-east of the village. Its position, therefore, points to its being of later date than the other remains found at this site, and which are themselves undoubtedly of the prehistoric period.

Deeper down was a human skeleton in a cross-legged sitting posture, with the hands resting on the knees as if in meditation. The skull, though cracked, was in

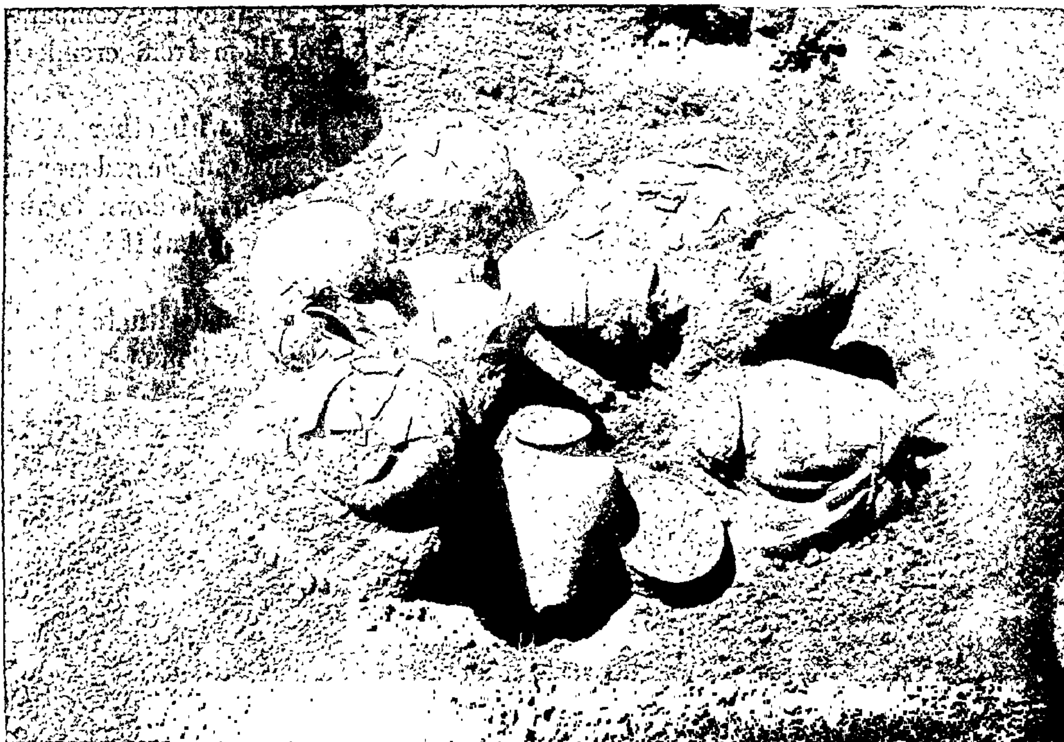


Fig. 2



Fig. 3.

fair condition, but the ribs and other bones were all too much decayed through age to be removed in the position in which they were found. Of the numerous other cromlechs excavated at Perambair it would be tedious to describe all the details, and it will be sufficient to note some of the more representative.

Text illustration, Fig. 2, shows a group of pottery in the centre or cromlech No. 7 at a few feet below the surface. The main deposit consisting of a skeleton with a grinding stone and a few pieces of pottery lay below. Their position is shown below on Fig. 3. Fig. 4 shows an oblong cist with attached pottery from cromlech No. 8 as it appeared just after excavation.

Another similar cist from cromlech No 16 was devoid of outside articles of pottery, but is curious in that it has rows of thumb mark ornaments on the ends.

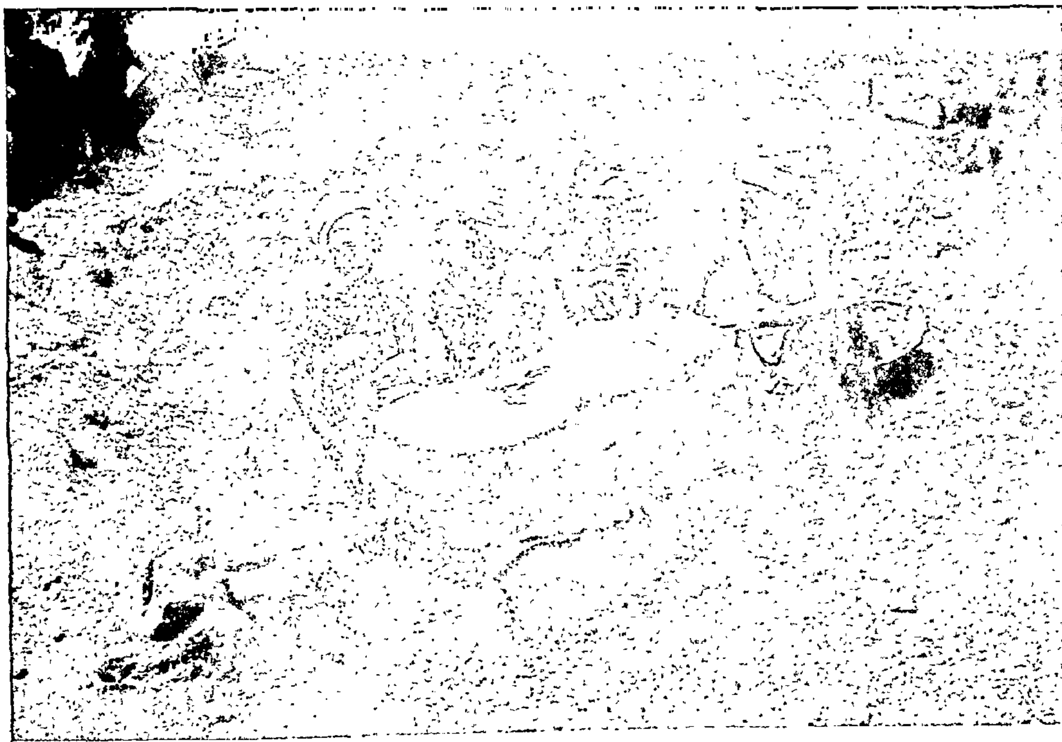


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5 shows an urn of the pyriform class excavated from cromlech No. 14 at Kadamalaiputtūr. Two oblong cists with their attached articles of pottery were found in cromlechs Nos. 10 and 11 at Thenpakkam, one of them is illustrated in Fig. 6.

The cists found in these cromlechs were always in a more or less fractured condition due to the causes before alluded to, and great care had to be exercised before it was possible to remove any. The following was the method adopted:—

The cist was first wrapped with ropes of coir and straw, and then a batten framework, so arranged as to support every portion of it, was built around it. These battens had also to be inserted below the legs and body of the cist, one at a time. Spaces between the framework and the cist were well packed with straw, and the whole was then removed without injury.

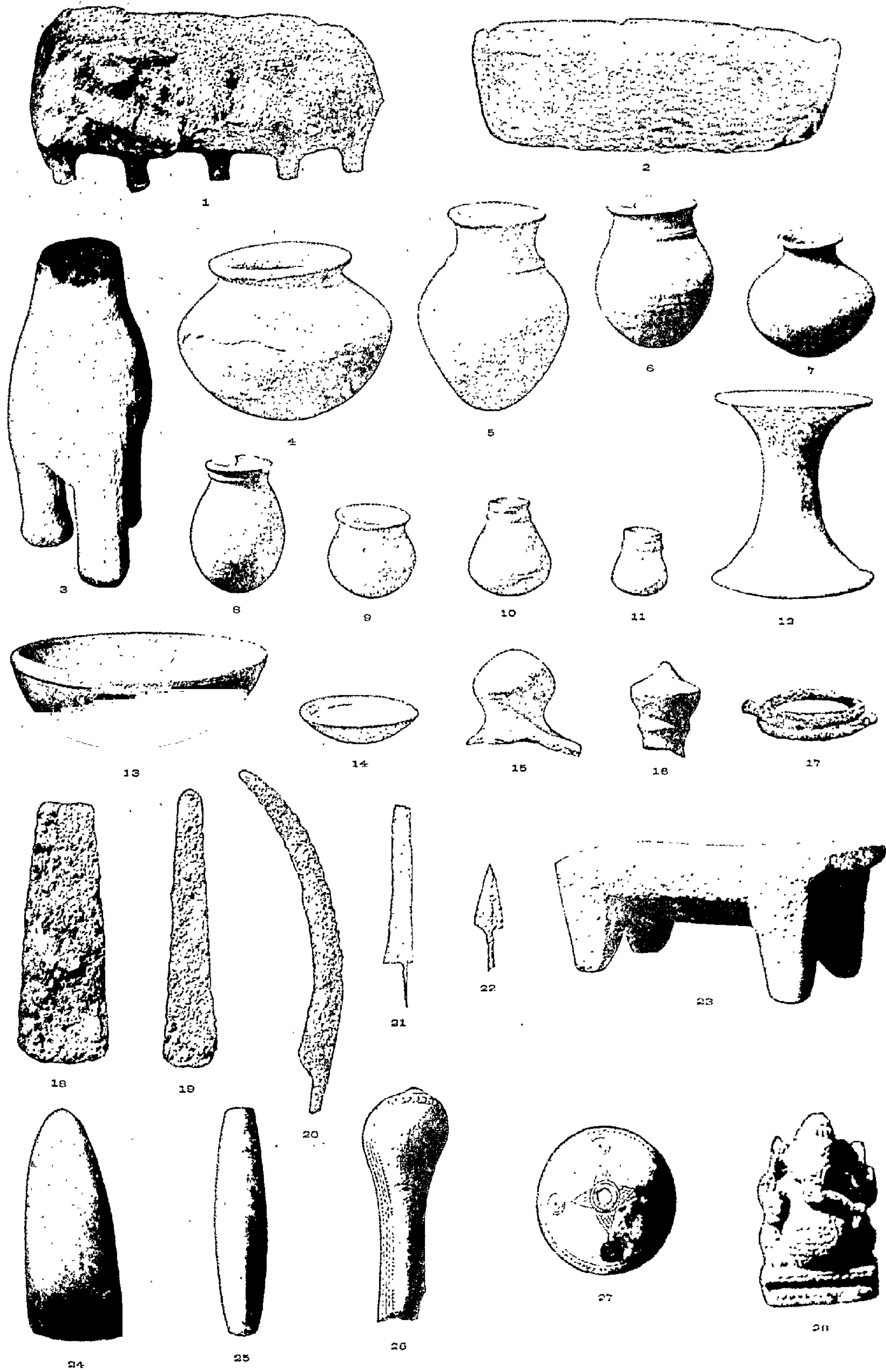


Fig. 5.



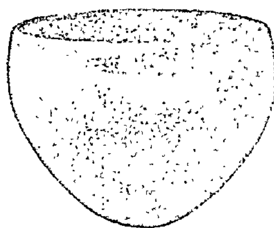
Fig. 6.

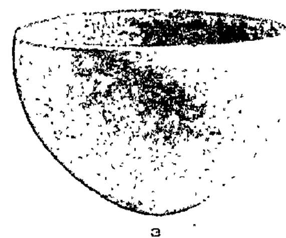
EXCAVATIONS AT PERAMBAIR.



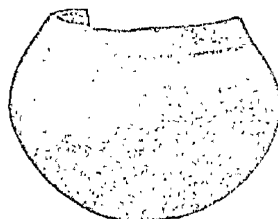
EXCAVATIONS AT PERAMBAIR.


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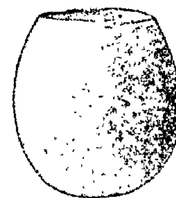

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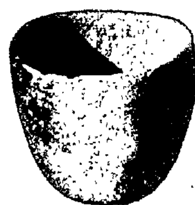

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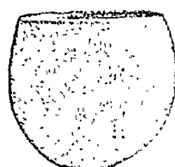

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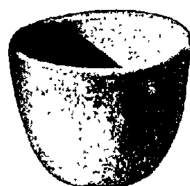

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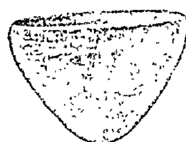

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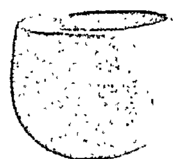

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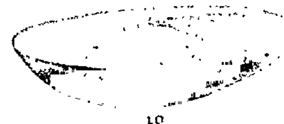

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LIST OF FINDS.

Plate XXXIII.

1. Oblong cist with ten legs in two rows (2′ 6″ × 1′ 2″ × 9″). The length of the legs is 3″.
2. Oblong cist without legs (1′ 9″ × 1′ 6″).
3. Three-legged jar (1′ 7½″ × 11½″). The length of the legs is 3½″. The mouth is 5″ in diameter.
4. Pot (Height 4½″. Diameter 7″).
5. Oval-shaped pot which would be placed on a stand like fig. 12. It has a raised rim round the neck. Colour reddish. (Height 7″. Diameter 6″).
6. Similar pot of smaller size. Colour reddish. (Height 5¼″. Diameter 4¼″.)
7. Small black pot covered with red colour. (Height 4½″. Diameter 4⅛″).
8. Round elongated pot. The rim of the mouth is partly broken. Colour black. (Height 4½″. Diameter 3½″).
9. Pot with a wide mouth. The lower half is red and the upper half black; the whole coated with white colour. Height (3¼″. Diameter 3″.)
10. Small pot. Colour black. (Height 3¼″. Diameter 3¼″.)
11. Small toy pot. Colour black. (Height 2″. Diameter 2¼″.)
12. Long ring stand. A portion of the lower base is broken. Colour red. (Height 7¼″. Diameter 7″.)
13. Wide saucer-like pan. Colour red. (Diameter 8¾″. Height 2½″.)
14. Flat saucer. Colour red. (Diameter 5⅝″. Height 1¼″.)
15. Broken knob. Colour black. (Height 1⅝″. Diameter 1¾″.)
16. Another knob. Colour black. (Height 1⅝″. Diameter 1⅝″.)
17. Brass coiled wire bangle. (Diameter 1½″.)
18. Thin iron hatchet (8⅝″ × 3¼″ × ¼″.)
19. Long iron chisel (9″ × 2⅝″ × ¼″.)
20. Scythe (11¾″ × 1¼″.)
21. Small knife with a handle (6½″ × 1″. Length of the handle ⅝″).
22. Arrow-head with a handle (3½″ × 1″. Length of the handle 1¼″).
23. Black granite grinder with four legs (18″ × 8″ × 7″).
24. Neolithic celt of black polished stone. It is chisel-shaped, but the edge of the chisel portion is blunt. The other end tapers to a point (4″ × 1¾″.)
25. Long ivory bead (3¼″ × ⅞″).
26. Conch shell ornamented with triangular and linear incisions.
27. Circular shell head ornament with circular and triangular incisions and a hole in the middle (2¼″ in diameter).
28. Roughly sculptured blackstone Gaṇēśa image (3¼″ × 2⅛″).

Plate XXXIV.

1. Bowl (7″ × 4½″), black and polished, from Perambair.
2. Bowl (6″ × 4″), reddish and polished, pointed base, from Perambair.
3. Bowl (5½″ × 3″), black and polished, from Perambair.
4. Mug (5″ × 5″), black and polished, with grooved lines in the middle, from Kudamalaiputtūr.
5. Bowl (5″ × 3″), reddish and unpolished, with grooved lined neck, from Perambair.
6. Bowl (10″ × 8″), black and polished, cone-shaped, from Tenpākkam.
7. Small mug (4″ × 3½″), reddish and dull polished, from Perambair.

8. Cup ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$), reddish and unpolished, from Perambair.
9. Small Bowl ($3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
10. Cup ($3'' \times 2''$), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
11. Small Cup with rim ($3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
12. Cup ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
13. Cup cone-shaped ($3'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
14. Small Bowl ($3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
15. Tumbler ($6'' \times 3''$), black and unpolished, from Perambair.
16. Wide-mouthed bowl ($8'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
17. Saucer or lid ($7'' \times 2''$), black and polished, from Perambair.
18. Saucer or lid ($6'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$), black and polished, from Perambair.

Plate XXXV.

1. Large ring stand ($8'' \times 5''$), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
2. Jar ($1'\ 5'' \times 9''$), reddish and dull polished, with 3 legs and 4 spouts, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
3. Lid cup ($3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
4. Lid cup ($4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
5. Lid cup ($3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
6. Lid cup ($3'' \times 2''$), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
7. Lid cup ($4'' \times 2''$), black and dull polished, from Perambair.
8. Portion of an iron sword ($1\frac{1}{3}''$), from Perambair.
9. Handle of an iron sword (handle $1\frac{1}{2}''$), from Kadamalaiputtūr.
10. Iron sickle or grass cutting implement ($1' \times 6''$), from Kadamalaiputtūr.
11. Iron hatchet ($6'' \times 3''$), from Perambair.
12. Iron hatchet ($6'' \times 3''$), from Perambair.
13. Iron hatchet ($6'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$), from Perambair.
14. Iron hatchet ($6'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}$), from Sītāpuram.
15. Iron chisel ($5'' \times 2''$), from Sītāpuram.
16. Iron chisel ($6'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$), from Tenpākkum.
17. Iron chisel ($5'' \times 2''$), from Tenpākkam.
18. Iron chisel ($6'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$), from Tenpākkam.
19. Stone pestle ($10'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$), from Perambair.

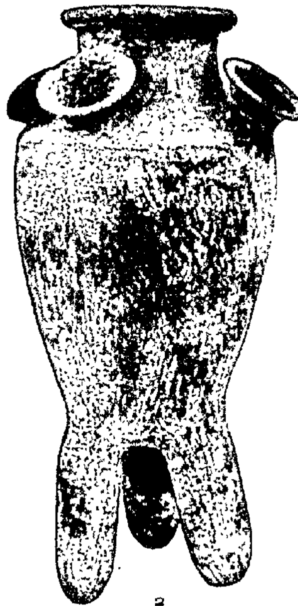
Plate XXXVI.

1. Long-necked pot ($10'' \times 8''$), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
2. Wide-mouthed pot ($8'' \times 9''$), reddish and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
3. Pot with rim ($7'' \times 7''$), black and unpolished, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
4. Broad pot ($8'' \times 6''$), reddish and not polished, with wide twisted mouth, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
5. Long-necked pot with rim ($8'' \times 7''$), black and polished, from Perambair.
6. Pot($5'' \times 5''$), black and dull polished, long and wide-mouthed, four grooved lines in the centre, from Kadamalaiputtūr.
7. Pot with broken neck and four grooved lines in the centre ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$), reddish and polished, from Perambair.
8. Long and wide-mouthed pot with rim ($4'' \times 4''$), black and polished, with 2 grooved lines below the neck, from Perambair.
9. Broken wide-mouthed pot ($7'' \times 5''$), reddish and dull polished, with pointed base, from Perambair.
10. Pot ($5'' \times 5$), reddish and not polished, broken mouthed, from Perambair.

EXCAVATIONS AT PERAMBAIR.



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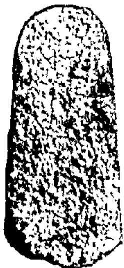
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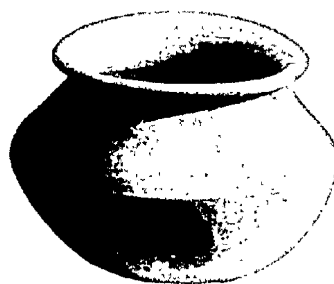
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EXCAVATIONS AT PERAMBAIR.

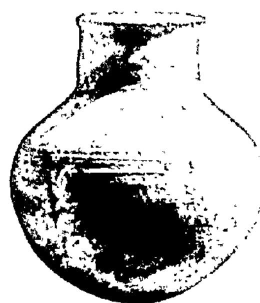

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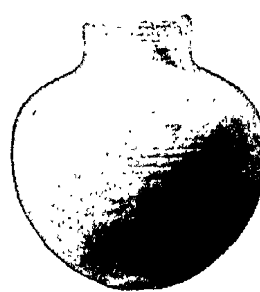

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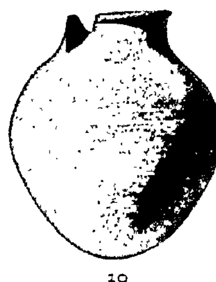

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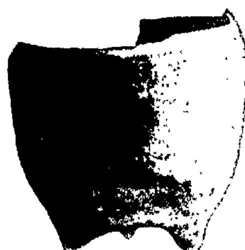

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11. Pot (6″ × 6″), reddish and dull polished, broken mouthed, from Perambair.
12. Lower portion of a pot with three legs (6½″ × 6″) black and unpolished, from Perambair.
13. Pot of unusual shape (4″ × 3½″), black and polished, from Perambair.
14. Small pot with long neck (4½″ × 4″), reddish and dull polished, from Tenpäkkam.
15. Small pot with curved mouth (3½″ × 3½″), black and polished, from Kadamalaiputtür.
16. Small wide-mouthed pot (3″ × 3″), red and dull polished, from Perambair.

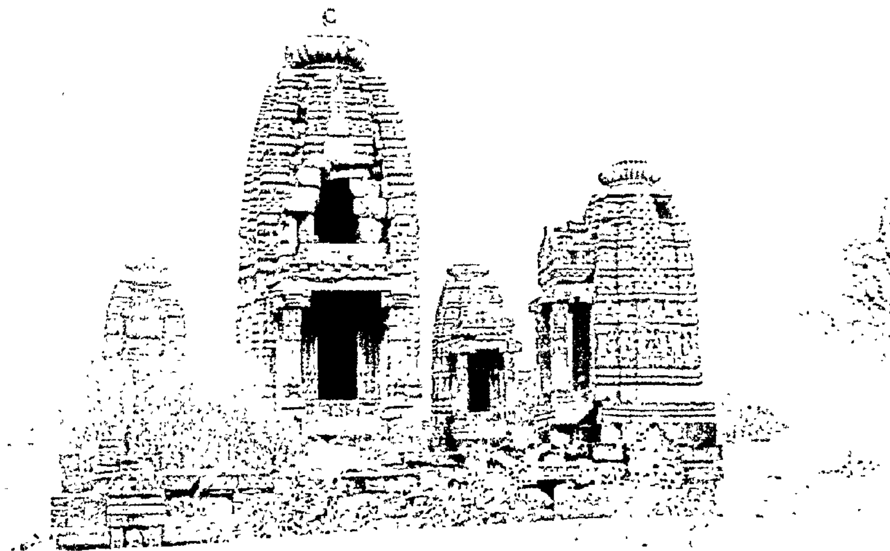
ALEXANDER REA.

THE TEMPLES OF ŌSIĀ.

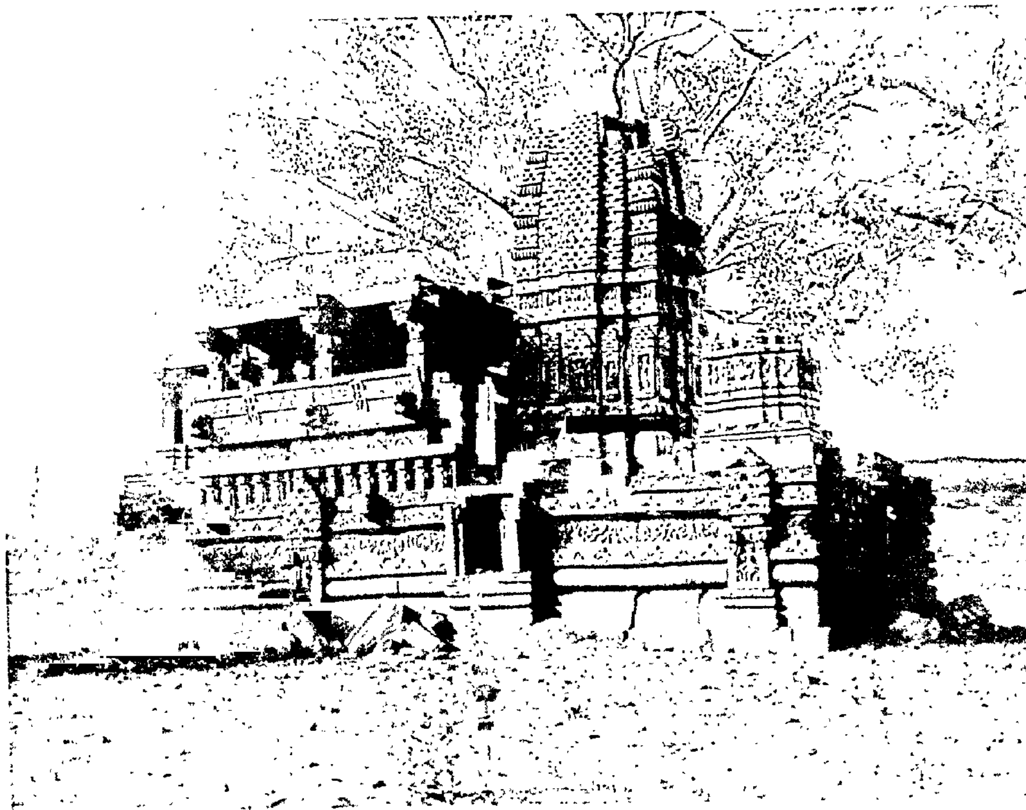
ŌSIĀ, or properly Osiāṁ, which is known to almost everybody in Rājputānā as the cradle of a class of baniās called Ōsvāls but whose exact position is hardly known to any, is situated thirty-two miles north-north-west of Jōdhpur, in the midst of a sandy region. It is now a small village, but there can be little doubt that formerly it was a large city, as is clearly seen from the number of ruined temples to be found there. According to local tradition, Ōsiā, when it was at the height of its prosperity, had spread to such a length that its grain market was the village of Mathāṇiā, sixteen miles to the south-south-east, its oilmen's quarter was Tivrī (Teori), thirteen miles south-south-west, and one of its principal gates was in Ghaṭiyālā, twenty-eight miles in the same direction.

There are many legends, both Hindu and Jaina, connected with Ōsiā. The following has appeared in the *Annual Progress Report, Western Circle,* for 1906-7, p. 36; but deserves to be reproduced here :—According to local tradition, it was at first known as Melpur Paṭṭan. About a mile and a half to the north-west of the place is shown a tumulus with foot-prints carved on the top, and containing the relics of an ascetic called Dhundli Mall. One day his pupil went to the village for alms, but nobody gave him any grain. Thereupon the ascetic became enraged and cursed the village, and so the old Melpur Paṭṭan became *daṭṭan, i.e.,* buried underground. The town was afterwards re-peopled by Uppal Dē, a Paramāra prince, who, being hard pressed by his enemies, sought refuge with a king of the Paḍiār (Pratīhāra) dynasty, which then reigned supreme in Mārwāṛ. The Paḍiār sovereign assigned the ruins of Melpur Paṭṭan to the Paramāra king, and asked him to take shelter there. The latter re-peopled the desolated village, and named it Navanerī Nagarī. But the village was also called Ōsiā, because Uppaladēva took *ōslā* there, the word signifying "refuge, shelter" in Mārwāṛi language. And it was this Uppaladēva who built the temple of Sachiyā-mātā, the tutelary goddess of the Sāṁkhlā Paramāras. A few years after, there came to Ōsiā a Jaina Jati of the name of Ratan Prabhu, disciple of Hēmāchārya. Completely foiled in his attempt to make Jaina converts there, he had recourse to a ruse. He prepared a snake of cotton, and infused life into it. At his orders the snake crept stealthily into the

TEMPLES OF OSIA.



a. TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 1, FROM WEST.



b. TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 2, FROM SOUTH.

palace, and bit the only son of the king. All remedies were tried, but to no purpose, and the prince was on the verge of death. The king avowed that he would give anything to see his son restored to health. Ratan Prabhu approached, and bade the snake suck out the poison. This was done, and the prince forthwith regained his health and strength. Ratan Prabhu insisted upon the king and all his subjects embracing Jainism. So they had to become Jainas, and this enraged Sachiyā-mātā, as she could no longer obtain any living victims. She cursed the people, and defied them to stay there under pain of themselves and their posterity being destroyed. The Ōsvāls, *i.e.*, the original residents of Ōsiā, had to flee headlong in all directions. But they prayed to the goddess, and propitiated her to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. And no Ōsvāl now passes at Ōsiā the night of the day on which he pays his homage to the *mātā* for fear of being overtaken by some calamity or another.

The Jaina legends somewhat vary, and are recounted in the *Paṭṭāvali* of the Upakēśa *gachchha* which has been ably translated into English by Dr. Hoernle.[1]

Before going to Ōsiā I visited Tivrī (Teori) thirteen miles south of it. Here I was informed by the people that there were only two temples at Ōsiā that would be archæologically interesting, *viz.* the temple of Mahāvīra and the temple of Sachiyā Mātā, which have been referred to in both the Hindu and Jaina accounts. But on my visit, I found that the place was studded with the ruins of many old fanes. On the outskirts of the village there are no less than eleven large temples including the Jaina one, and on a hill, to the east of it, is situated the temple of Sachiyā Mātā surrounded by five other shrines. Almost all of these temples are Vaishṇava, but we shall first turn our attention to those below the hill. All these, except two, are on the east side of the village. The easternmost group (Plate XXXVII *a*) stands on an elevated terrace, the front of which is nearly half buried in sand. The top moulding of this terrace, as of many other temples here, is decorated with what may be called a spiral ornament, the cornice with horse-shoe arches and the flat band beneath with floral scroll work. The walls are broken up into niches, resembling miniature shrines surmounted by small spires. They are four at each side, three at the back, and two in front. These are occupied by Vaishṇava images, mostly of the incarnations of Vishṇu. Of these last the image of Buddha is the most noteworthy, as showing that as early as the 9th century when the temple must have been erected, Buddha had come to be regarded as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu.

The temple is a *Pañchāyatana*, *i.e.*, it consists of a larger central shrine facing west, with four smaller subsidiary shrines at the corners of the platform. The shrine at the north-west corner has well-nigh disappeared, but the remaining are, on the whole, well preserved. Those at the back, like the central shrine, face the west and those in front must have faced each other and consequently faced north and south. The central shrine is, on the whole, well preserved. On the lintel of the door-frame figures Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa. Immediately above on the frieze is a miniature chapel and at the ends are miniature spires. Between this door and the spires are two niches, that on the proper right being occupied by Gaṇapati and that on the proper left by a deity most probably Kubēra with two hands, one holding a cup and the other what appears to be a wine-flask. Above are the *Navagraha* or the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 233 ff.

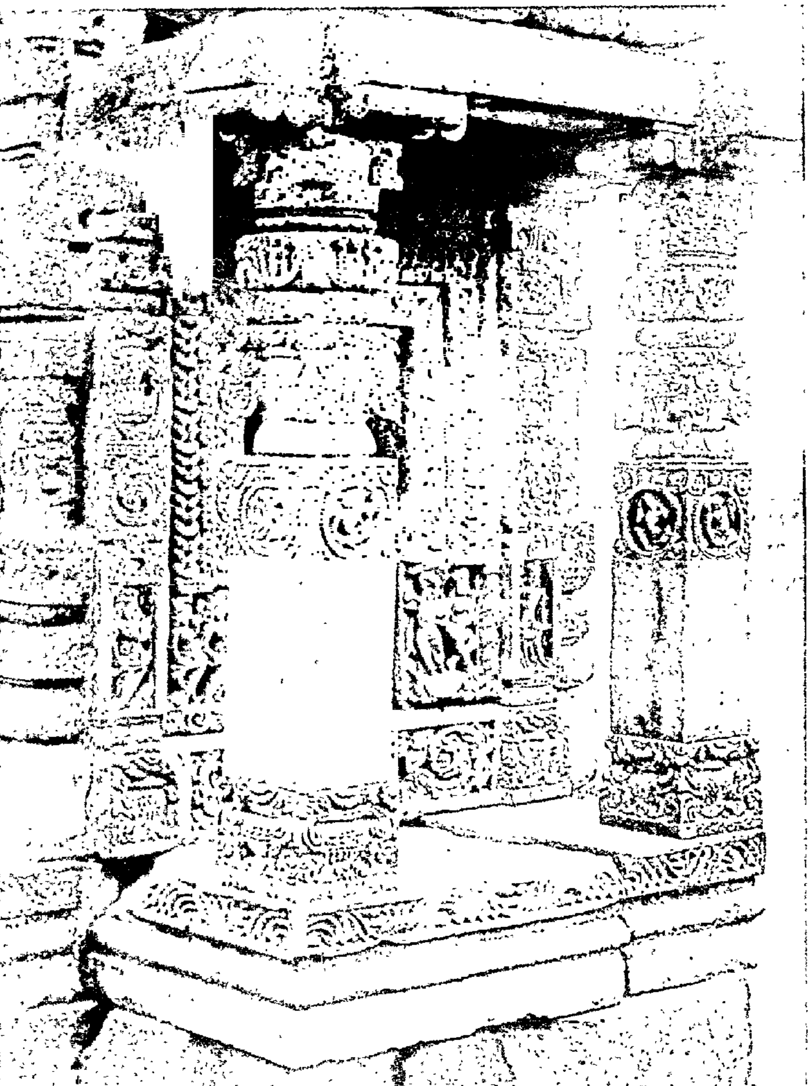
Nine Planets. The door-frame has four distinct mouldings, rising from the two groups of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which are placed beneath. The innermost band consists of some floral design; the second, of snakes which cover the whole central moulding with their intricate coils, the tails being held by Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu already noted on the lintel above; the third is divided into five panels each filled with a pair of lovers; and the fourth or outermost band consists of an oblique leaf border. From the sides of the door-frame project two pilasters decorated with *Kīrtimukhas*, vase-and-foliage capitals, and a dancing female below. Inside the sanctum is an old dais, on which has now been placed the upper part of a *tōraṇa* or ornamental arch with the image of Śēshaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa in the centre. This sculpture was certainly not originally there, but must have formed part of the front of the spire of some subsidiary shrine.

The exterior of the walls is profusely covered with sculpture. To begin with the south-west corner, the niche, which is in line with the shrine door and consequently faces the west, contains the guardian of the south-west, *viz.* Nirṛiti apparently riding a horse. He has two hands, one holding a sword and the other resting on his thigh. He is followed by Yama, the *Dik-pāla* of the south, occupying the first niche of the south wall. In his left hand he bears a skull-crowned mace and his other hand is broken off. He is seated on his *vāhana*, the buffalo. In the next niche is Gaṇēśa standing. Then comes the principal niche, in the centre, which is occupied by Trivikrama, who stands turned towards the proper left and with his raised left foot touches the head of a demon. He has four hands, his lower right remaining empty, his upper right holding a mace, his upper left a discus and lower left a conch. Near his lower right hand is the head of a horse, and in the proper left corner is Vāmana with his umbrella, on whose hand water is being poured by another person, evidently Bali. In the niche following we have Chandra or the Moon with a crescent behind his head and occupying a seat supported by two birds. The last niche contains Agni, the regent of the south-east with his vehicle the ram.

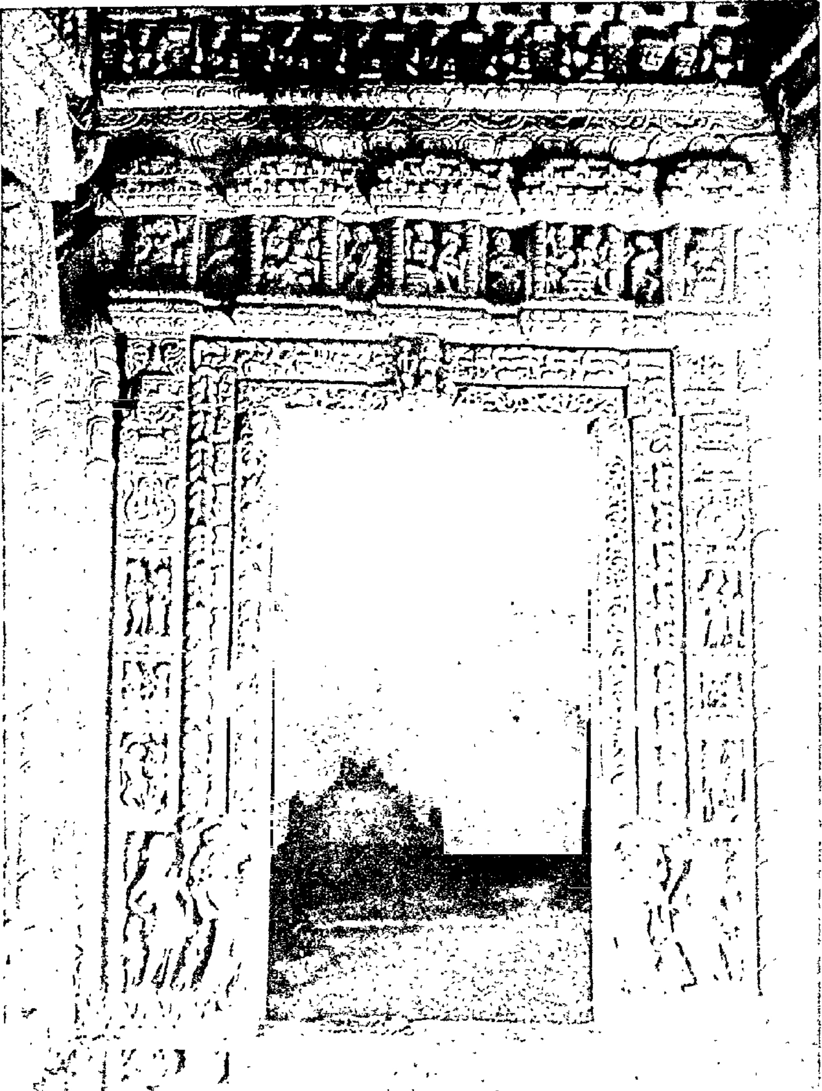
Then commences the east wall, the first niche of which is occupied by Indra the guardian of the east. The second niche is destroyed. The third is the principal niche, wherein figures Harihara. The proper right portion of his body is Hara or Śiva, and consequently the one right hand which is preserved (the other being broken off) holds a trident and on this side below is Nandī, the vehicle of Śiva. The left part represents Hari or Vishṇu, and the left hands, therefore, bear the discus and the conch, while on this side, below, is Garuḍa, Vishṇu's vehicle. The fourth niche contains Sūrya, and the fifth Īśa the regent of the north-east.

Then begins the north wall, the corner figure on which represents Kubēra, the god of riches and the guardian of the north. He has two hands, one of which holds what is generally supposed to be the money bag but which may be a wine-flask. His *vāhana* here shown is the man, and this is in keeping with his epithet *nara-vāhana*. Kubēra is followed by Mahishāsuramardinī, and the latter by Narasiṁha, who figures in the central niche. Then we have Brahmā, who is followed by Vāyu, the regent of the north-west, here represented as riding a stag. The last niche, which is in a line with the shrine door and consequently faces the west, contains Varuṇa, who curiously enough is shown as seated on a peacock and not on a crocodile, his usual vehicle. Though the roof of the porch is gone, the spire of the

TEMPLES OF OSIA



a. PORCH OF SUBSIDIARY SHRINE, SOUTH-WEST OF TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 1.



b. ENTRANCE TO SANCTUM OF TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 2.

shrine is preserved intact. The *āmalasara* or *āmalaka* stone has no less than three sockets for holding flag staffs. The finial has a discus carved in front, no doubt to show that the temple was dedicated to Vishṇu. With regard to this spire it is noteworthy that between the *āmalasara* and the finial we do not find the intervening member which is generally known as *āmalasarī* and which is very often found in old *śikharas*.

Neither the central nor the subsidiary shrines contain any object of worship. Their doors and the porch pillars are as deeply and artistically carved as those of the main shrine (Plate XXXVIII *a*). On the outer walls of the shrine, at the south-east corner, are Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya and Rēvanta in the central niches facing the north, east and south respectively. The principal niches on the north and south of the shrine at the north-east corner contain figures of Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa and of Vishṇu standing, respectively. It is difficult to identify the sculpture in the remaining niche. It shows two male figures, apparently twins. In the three principal niches of the shrine on the south-west corner we find three goddesses. That on the west contains Chāmuṇḍā, the hag with withered breasts. The goddess in the southern niche is seated on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*) and has four hands, her lower right holding a cup, the upper right a trident, the upper left some doubtful object and the lower left a shield. The third goddess is seated on a lion and is eight-handed. One right hand rests on her head, another right bears a lotus and a third right a sword. One left holds a pitcher, another a bow and a third a shield. The remaining right and left hands are held round the ankle of her right foot which is raised.

The next temple, that arrests our attention, also stands on a platform close by, but the flight of steps leading to it and the porch are gone (Plate XXXVII *b*). It is also a *pañchāyatana*, but the subsidiary shrines have in this case greatly suffered, that at the north-east corner having almost completely disappeared. The point in which this temple differs from that just described is that the central shrine has a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* not found in the latter. This *sabhāmaṇḍapa* occupies the whole breadth of the terrace. The roof of the hall was originally supported by four long and six short pillars. The latter rest on stone benches running along both sides of the hall. The seats are provided with backs, which form an inclined parapet having ornamental elephant heads, which project outwards in a line with the pillars above. The roof of the hall as well as that of the porch is gone; and also the parapet wall and short pillars on the north have disappeared.

Immediately over the entrance to the sanctum is Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa, who holds the tails of the serpents as in the last temple. Above the lintel there is a row of five projecting niches, of which the central one is occupied by Vishṇu and those on the proper right and left by Brahmā and Śiva, respectively, each deity having his consort seated on his lap. In the niche at the proper right end is Gaṇapati and in that at the other end, Kubēra. The recesses between the five niches are filled with standing musicians. On the frieze above we notice the *Navagraha*. The jambs of this door are very similar to those of the first temple, and consequently need no description (Plate XXXVIII *b*).

As the exterior of the shrine also is an almost exact copy, only the interesting points of difference may be noted. Nirṛiti is here given the man as his *vāhana*, and not the horse. Harihara on the east side bears a composite head-dress also, the right

part consisting of the matted hair of Śiva and the left of the tiara of Vishṇu. Kubēra on the north side stands with a cup in one hand and a wine-flask in another on a platform supported by his *vāhana*, the man. The *āmalasara* and finial of the spire are destroyed.

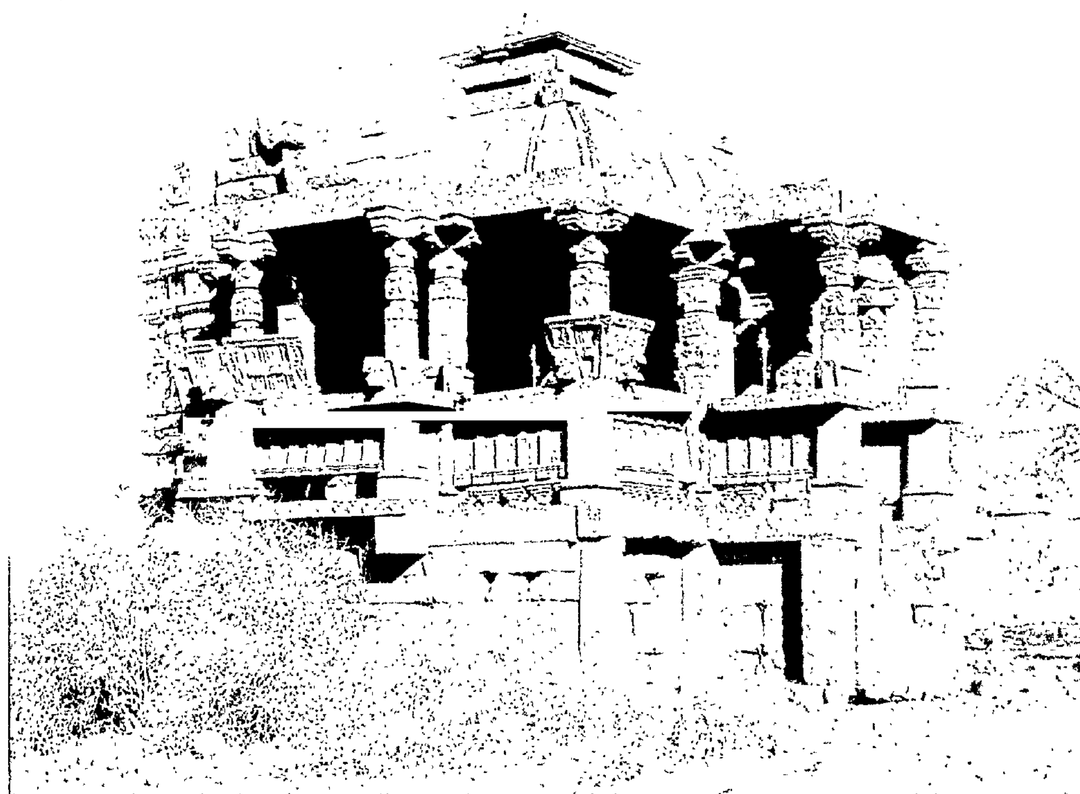
Of the subsidiary small shrines only two have their walls preserved, *viz.* those at the south-east and north-west corners. Those of the first have in the principal niches on the south, east and north Rēvanta, Sūrya and Balarāma, respectively, the last with his wife Rēvatī standing beside him. His head is canopied by a five-hooded cobra, in accordance with the legend which regards him as an incarnation of Śēsha. He has four hands. His lower right hand bears a cup similar to that of Kubēra, his upper right the ploughshare and his upper left, the club. With his lower left hand he clasps his consort to his bosom. The principal niches of the other shrine contain Naṭēśa or Śiva performing the *tāṇḍava*, Mahādēva with Pārvatī on his lap, and the scene of Śiva and Pārvatī's marriage, on the west, north and east respectively. The sculptural representation of the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī is very rare and is met with only in very early temples. The only instance of a subsidiary shrine where this scene is sculptured in a principal niche is that belonging to the triple-shrined Vaishṇava temple outside the village of Āṁvāṁ in the Kōṭā State.

The third temple (Plate XXXIX *a* and *b*) is almost contiguous with the preceding one, but while the first two temples face the west, this faces the east. This again is not a *pañchāyatana*, and in the absence of secondary shrines at the corners, there was no need of the terrace exceeding in dimensions the basement of the temple. It consequently has the appearance of a plinth, especially as it is severely plain and is not decorated with any floral bands. The most noteworthy feature of the temple is the peculiar dome-shaped roof of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* as the smaller bays in the side aisles are covered with curved slabs laid side by side. The central portion of the ceiling consists of a square slab supported by four long pillars, two of which belong to the porch of the sanctum.

The roof is crowned by a lid of three slabs ending in a fluted knob. On my visit I found that the side spaces between the pillars and pilasters of the shrine porch had been filled with stones by the villagers, I do not know for what purpose. In the principal niches on the outer walls of the shrine are figures of Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, and Harihara on the north, west, and south respectively. The spire of the shrine is gone, and I tried in vain to find out portions of it among the débris, in order to obtain some idea of its style. The projecting cornice which we distinctly see at the back precludes, I think, the possibility of its having had a spire like those of the temples just described. This cornice, on the other hand, closely resembles that of the spire which surmounts a shrine situated nearly two miles south of Osiā. The corner half-chaitya windows, which distinguish that shrine, will also be noticed in the temple under discussion. I am, therefore, inclined to assume that the spires of both temples were similar in style.

Between this temple and the next to be described there is a group of shrines, none of which is of any particular interest except one which faces the north. Its door-frame is plain, but there is a figure of Gaṇapati in the centre of the lintel. The exterior has only three niches placed in the centre of the walls and containing images of Gaṇapati, Śiva and Kubēra on the east, south and west respectively. The *śikhara* is, on the whole, well preserved except for the finial which is gone.

TEMPLES OF OSIA.



a. TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 3, FROM SOUTH-EAST.



b. TEMPLE OF HARIHARA NO. 2, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

The fourth temple that now draws our attention is close by this group. The back of it has become almost inaccessible in consequence of the luxuriant growth of thorny shrubs. The temple consists of a shrine and a porch. The door of the shrine is much plainer than that of any preceding temple. The object on the projecting portion of the lintel I cannot identify. Above are carved, curiously enough, only seven of the *Navagraha* or Nine Planets. The principal niches of the outer walls contain Trivikrama, Vishṇu and Narasiṁha on the south, east, and north respectively. Of the *Ashṭa-dikpālas* sculptured in the smaller niches, Kubēra figures with a bowl in his right and a wine-flask in his left hand. He is shown standing without any *vāhana*. The roof of the porch is partially preserved, but the spire of the shrine is intact except for the finial which is destroyed.

The next temple that is in the close vicinity is well-nigh a wreck, and therefore calls for no remarks. But the temple farther on, though the larger portion of it also is destroyed, has still some parts preserved which can be described. It faces the west and stands on a terrace, which is decorated along the upper portion with bands of spiral, horse-shoe and triangular designs. Its front wall is very much damaged, and the remaining three are each provided with a small niche. This temple does not appear to have had any subsidiary shrines. Originally it consisted of a sanctum, a hall and a porch. The porch is now an utter ruin, and the hall very nearly so. On the lintel of the shrine door we find only a figure of Garuḍa, not seizing the two serpents' tails as in other temples, but simply holding two cobras in his two hands. Immediately above is Vishṇu flanked on the right by Brahmā and Gaṇēśa and on the left by Śiva and Kubēra. Of these, Brahmā has his legs crossed half-way and his knees tied together with a piece of cloth. Above, on the frieze are the *Navagraha*. The principal niches on the outer walls of the shrine contain figures of Gaṇēśa, Sūrya and Mahishāsuramardinī. Of the *Ashṭa-dikpālas*, Kubēra here stands on a platform supported by his *vāhana*, the man, as in Temple No. 2. The roof of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is completely gone, but that of the shrine, excepting the finial, is preserved.

The seventh temple that now arrests our attention is the one standing close beside the house of the local Jāgīrdār (Plate XL*a*). It is perhaps the most magnificent of the whole group of Ōsiā temples. The two tall fluted pillars of the porch in front give it an imposing and almost classical appearance. The temple faces the west and consists of a shrine, a hall and a porch. It does not appear to have stood on a terrace, but there were, no doubt, originally four attendant shrines, of which only one, namely, that at the north-west corner, has survived. These subsidiary shrines were originally connected by a cloister (*sāl*), which served the purpose of a compound wall and contained a row of flat-roofed chambers intended as a resting place for travellers. Only parts of it at the front and back now remain.

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the sanctum both stand on a raised platform, and are approached by a flight of steps under a projecting porch, whose two front pillars, just referred to, rise from the ground level. The roof of the hall was supported on lintels resting on twelve pillars, arranged in four rows. The two outer rows, each of four pillars, are arrayed along the edge of the plinth; the two central of the four inner columns form, as it were, a passage from the flight of steps to the entrance of the shrine. The spaces between the pillars of the hall along the edge, except at the

entrance, were once filled with stone screens and stone benches, part of which still exists on the south side. The notches in the pillars immediately above this wall are evidently meant for ornamental elephant heads. An idea of this screen, together with these elephant heads, may still be formed from an inspection of the hall of the Piplā-dēvī temple, to which we shall shortly come.

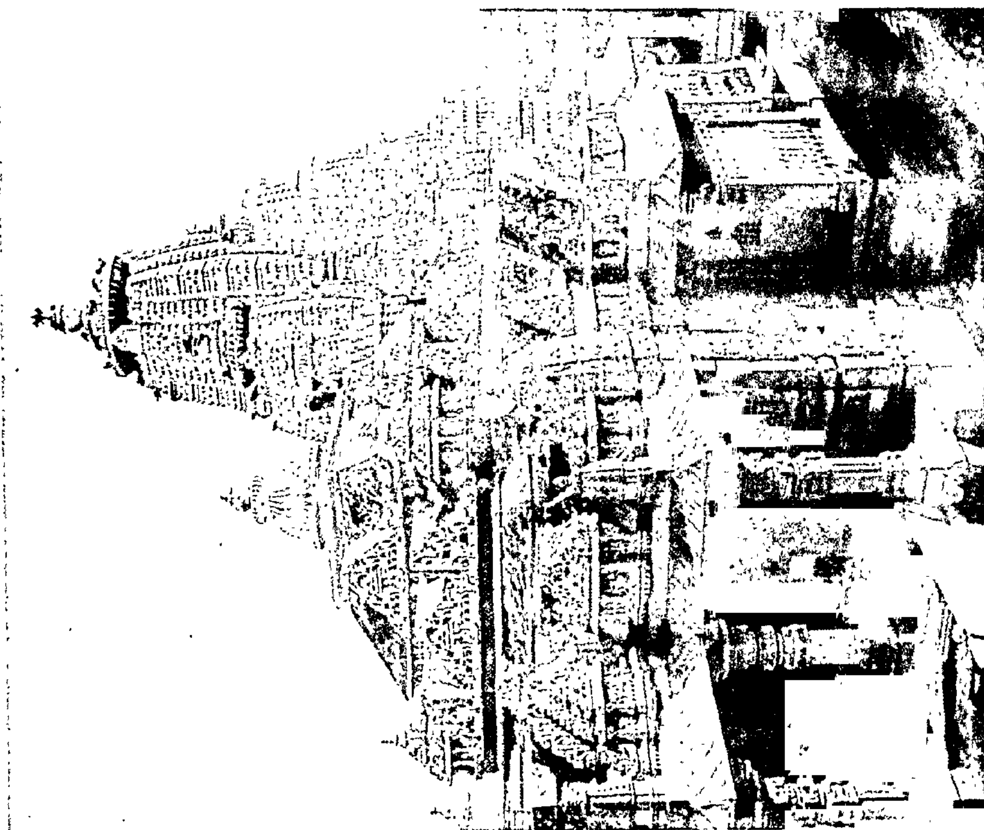
The door of the shrine (Plate XLI *a*) seems to have been white-washed many a time, when the temple was in use. Most of the figures are indeed so thickly encrusted with whitewash as to be irrecognizable. On the lintel above the entrance is a figure of Garuḍa, holding the tails of serpents. Over him are the *Navagraha*, and on the frieze above is a row of nine niches containing figures, the central one of which is apparently of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. On the immediate right is Gaṇapati and farther Brahmā with his legs crossed and with a piece of cloth wound round his knees. On their immediate left is apparently Kubēra and farther perhaps Śiva.

The pilasters projecting on both sides of the entrance are elegantly sculptured. The lower halves are carved with dancing females with natural poses. Above are *Vāsudēva*-Vishṇu and *Saṁkarshaṇa*-Balarāma, the former on the proper right hand pilaster and the latter on the left. Both are seated on Garuḍas. The former bears the conch, discus, mace and lotus in his four hands, and has a nimbus behind his head. The latter also has four hands, two of which bear the ploughshare and the club the two distinctive emblems of Balarāma. One of the remaining hands holds a conch and the other touches the breast. His head is canopied by a five-hooded cobra, as he is looked upon as an incarnation of Śēsha.

The outside walls of the shrine are profusely sculptured. What is worthy of note here is that the principal niches on the side walls do not occupy the central position. This is due to the addition of the extra westernmost *moulding* on each side. To begin with the south wall, the first niche contains Balarāma standing; the second Nirṛiti; the third Kubēra; the fourth, the principal niche, Gaṇapati; and the fifth, Varāha. On the east, the first niche is occupied by Rēvanta on horseback accompanied by a dog and followed by an attendant who holds an umbrella over him. In the second, the principal niche, is Sūrya, wearing a close-fitting tunic reaching down almost to his ankles, a kind of necklace, an *avyaṅga* or belt round his waist, and high boots. In the third niche is Brahmā with a single bearded head and four hands. Two of these hold a rosary and a book, the others rest on the heads of his attendants. The first niche on the north wall contains Narasiṁha; the second—the principal niche—Mahishāsuramardinī; the third, Lakshmī, but with her hands broken off; the fourth Varuṇa. and the fifth, Vishṇu. The hall as well as the porch is roofless, but the spire of the shrine, excepting the finial, is well preserved.

There can be no doubt that at some later period this temple, or at any rate its hall was rebuilt. This may be seen from the mixed character of the podium on the north side. Even a cursory inspection forces the conclusion upon us that in all likelihood the whole of the podium was originally a carved one like the terraces of the previous temples and that the larger portion of the present podium, which is built of plain dressed stones, was put up later (Plate XLII *a*). Similarly, the two pillars in the north-west and south-west corners seem to have been tampered with. That the upper portions of these are not original work is evident from the joints that may be clearly

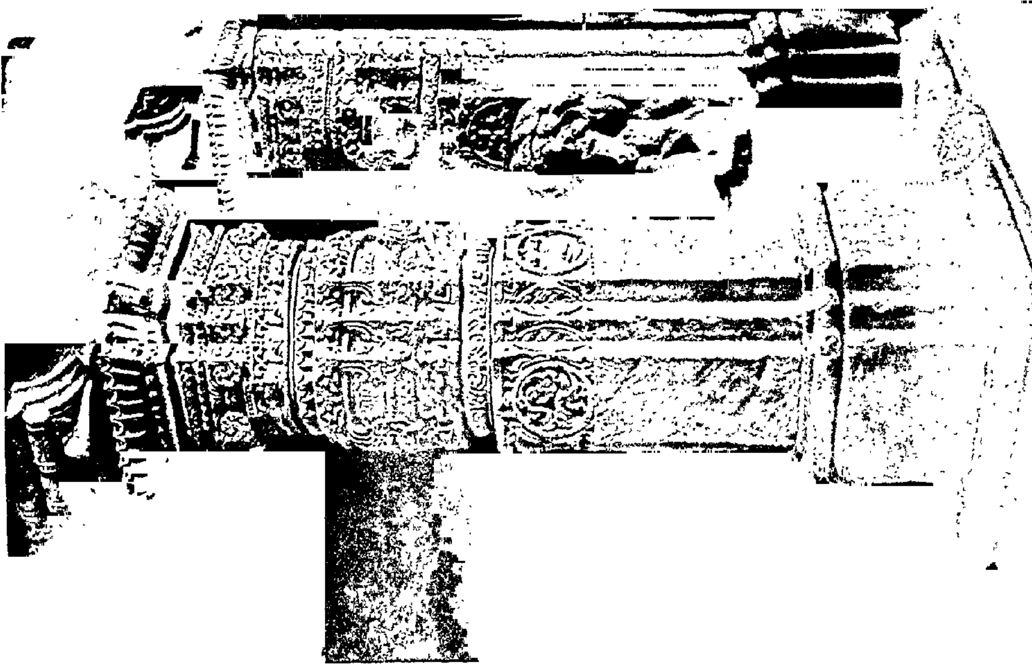
TEMPLES OF OSIA.



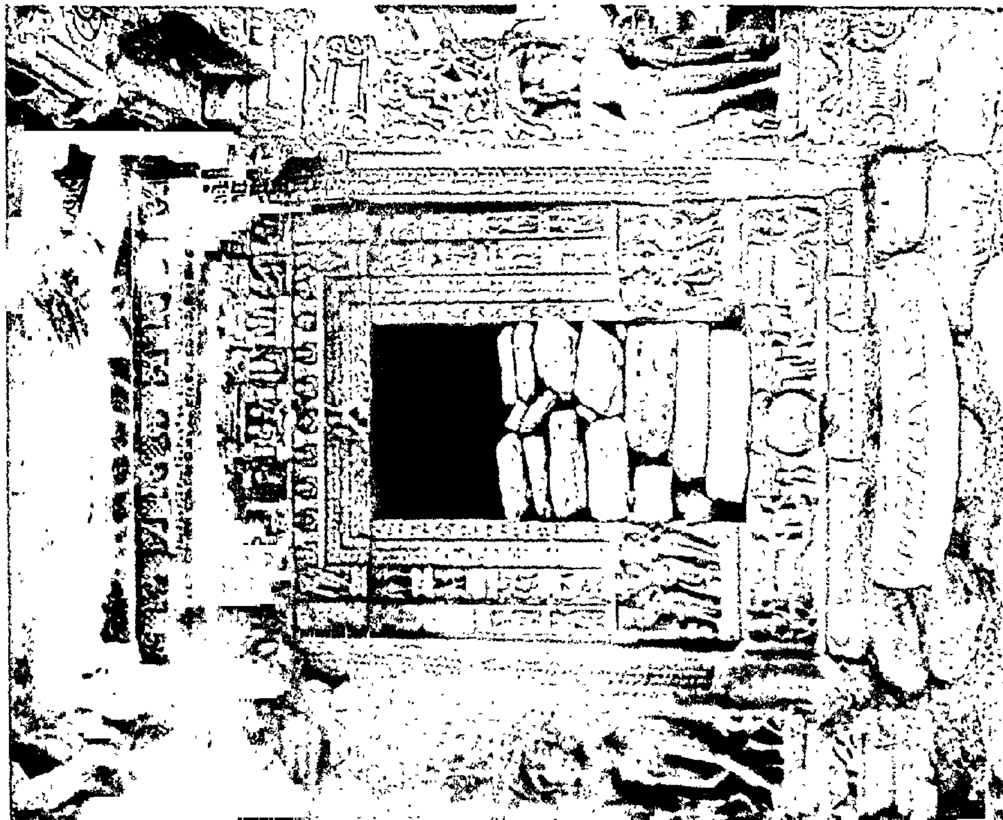
b. TEMPLE OF MAHAVIRA, FROM NORTH.



a. TEMPLE OF SURYA NO. 7, FROM NORTH-WEST.



b. TEMPLE OF PIPLA DEVI, PILLAR OF MANDAPA.



a. TEMPLE OF SURYA, ENTRANCE TO SANCTUM.

seen and from the different colour of the stone out of which they are carved. I have already stated that this is perhaps the most magnificent of all the Ōsiā temples, and that it owes its striking character in a large measure to the two tall columns of the porch. But though a gem of its kind, it has suffered most from vandalism. This is mainly due to its close neighbourhood to the residence of the local Jāgīrdār, who has appropriated it for his private purposes. I found his camels tethered to various parts of the building. A huge log was placed on the highest step of the stair-case to the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* to prevent cattle from entering it. The sanctum is utilised for the storing of fodder, and the doorway is built up for two-thirds of its height with stones to prevent the intrusion of cattle.

Close by and to the north-west of this temple is another which is the only old temple dedicated to Śiva that I found at Ōsiā. The basement of the shrine and the pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are silted up, and buried in sand. Of the hall nothing now survives beyond seven pillars. The lintel of the shrine door is broken up into five projecting niches. The central one of these is occupied by Śiva, who is flanked by Brahmā and Vishṇu on the immediate right and left. The exterior of the shrine is plain except for three niches which are now empty. Part of the *śikhara* on the west is destroyed. The rest is well preserved excepting the *kalaśa* which is gone.

We now come to the ninth temple, that of Piplā-dēvī (Plate XLII *b*). It faces the north and consists of a shrine and a hall, each provided with a porch. The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is rather elongated, and the lower portion of it is covered by a plain screen-wall holding a marginal seat all round and crowned with ornamental elephant heads jutting out. The pillars of the hall and outer porch are plain. But this deficiency is more than made up by the pillars and pilasters of the inner porch, which are massive and profusely carved (Plate XLI *b*). They want the finish which never appears to have been given as is clear from the chisel marks on the lower part of the shaft. On the lintel of the shrine door figures Garuḍa, holding the tails of the serpents. Above are the *Navagraha*. Inside the shrine, are three almost life-size images placed on a dais. The central one is that of Mahishāsuramardinī, worshipped by the villagers as Piplā-dēvī. On her proper right is Kubēra (Fig. 1) and on her left is Gaṇēśa. The principal niches on the exterior of the shrine contain Gajalakshmī and Mahishāsuramardinī on the west and east faces respectively. The principal niche in the back wall (*i.e.*, on the south) is empty. But there can be little doubt that

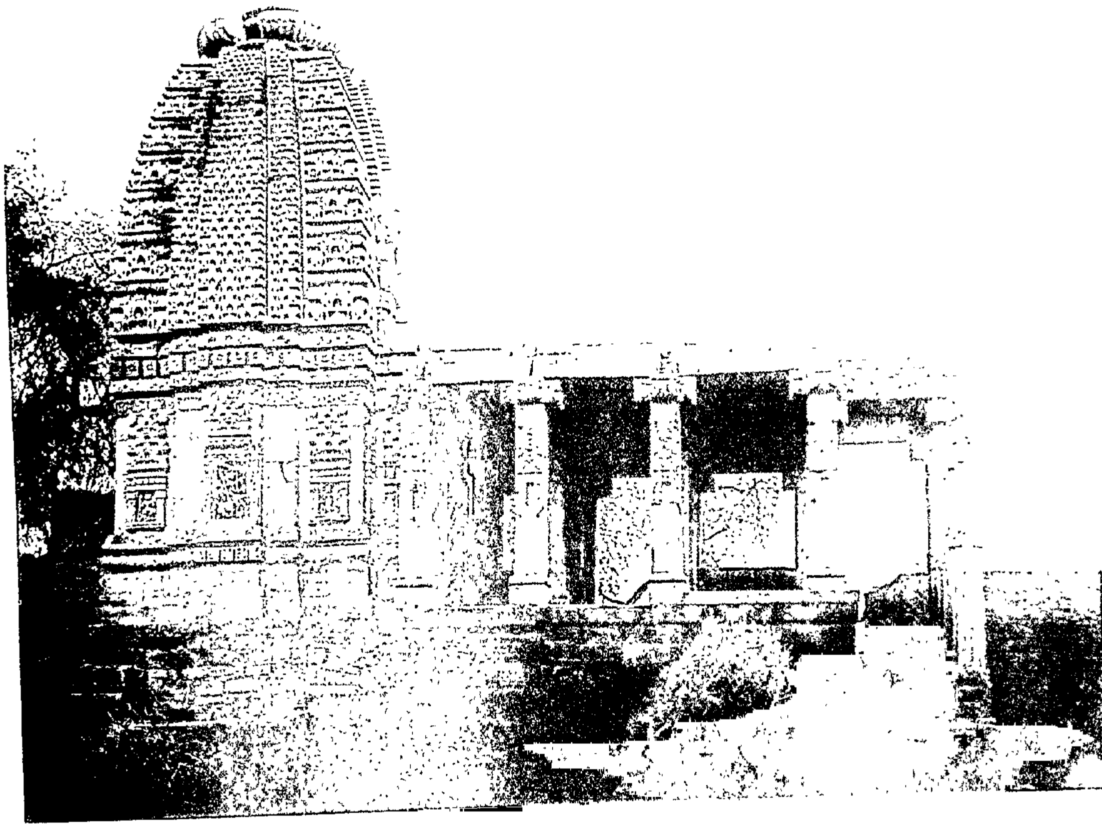


Fig. 1.

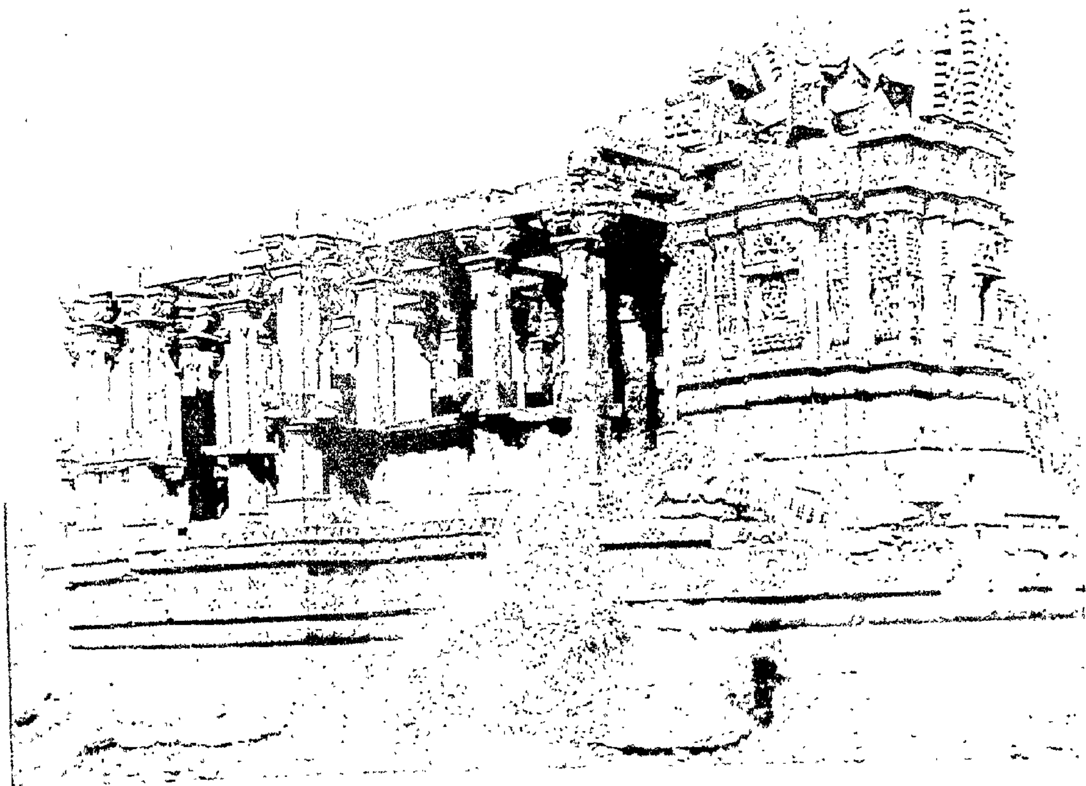
it originally contained the image of the goddess seated on a lion-throne which is now lying in the hall. The roof of the hall has completely disappeared, and the *śikhara* of the shrine is all but gone.

The next temple that deserves notice is the celebrated Jaina temple, referred to in the Hindu and Jaina accounts (Plate XL *b*). It is dedicated to Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṁkara, and is situated on the western outskirts of the village. It faces the north, and stands within a walled enclosure. The original flight of steps in front is now buried underground, and the Jāgīrdār, so I am told, does not allow the temple authorities to unearth them, although they are willing to do so at their own expense. The temple consists of a sanctum, a closed hall and an open porch. Immediately in front of this porch is a *tōraṇa* or ornamental arch (Plate XLIII *a*). On the middle eight-sided portion of each of its two pillars are carved eight Tīrthaṁkaras seated on *padmāsanas* in niches. The lower part of the pillar is square in section with recessed corners and has four figures of Tīrthaṁkaras standing in the *kāyōtsarga* attitude, and, beneath, four occupying lotus seats. Just where the square form of the shaft changes into the eight-sided form a short inscription is engraved. It bears the date *Saṁ. 1075 Āshāḍha sudi 10 Āditya-vārē Svāti-nakshatrē,* and mentions that the gate was constructed by two individuals, whose names unfortunately cannot be made out. There is a second porch known as *nāḷ-maṇḍapa.* Such a porch which is commonly found in early Jaina temples is so called because it is erected over a stair-case (*nāḷ*) leading into the interior of the temple. The stair-case in the present case, as stated above, is now concealed underground. Inside this porch, near the north-east corner, is an inscribed slab of marble built into a niche. The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines, but is much mutilated. It begins by invoking the blessings of the first Tīrthaṁkara Ṛishabhanātha, the son of Nābhi, and of the last Tīrthaṁkara Vīra, the son of Siddhārtha. Then it is stated that Rāma, the destroyer of Rāvaṇa, had a brother, named Lakshmaṇa, who did the duties of his doorkeeper (*pratīhāra*), and hence arose from the latter the Pratīhāra dynasty. In this dynasty there was a king named Vatsarāja. In his kingdom was situated the extensive city of Ūkēśa, *i.e.*, Ōsiā, and in the heart of this city stood the temple of Mahāvīra. So far the contents of the inscription are clear, but from the remaining mutilated portion we can glean only two things as certain. The first is that 'this *maṇḍapa*,' evidently the *nāḷ-maṇḍapa*, in which the inscription is found, had fallen into disrepair, and, at the request of the temple committee (*gōshṭhi*) a merchant called Jindaka renovated it. Secondly, the date of this renovation is the 3rd day of the bright half of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1013. The temple thus existed during the reign of Vatsarāja, who belonged to the Pratīhāra dynasty, and flourished about A.D. 770-800; and its *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt in the Vikrama year 1013(=A.D. 956.)

The temple is, like most ancient Jaina temples, enclosed both at the sides and the back by a row of subsidiary shrines, which, to judge from their style, are not contemporaneous with the temple but belong to the tenth century. They were probably constructed at the time when the *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* was repaired by Jindaka. The spire of the temple has obviously been rebuilt with the old materials. I gathered from the villagers that it was in ruins a hundred years ago, and was rebuilt of the fallen pieces. This is also seen from the fact that under the *āmalasara* there is a



a. TEMPLE OF SURYA NO. 7, FROM NORTH.



b. TEMPLE OF PIPLA DEVI

human face on each of the four sides, a characteristic found in almost all modern temples in Gujarāt and Rājputānā.

We now come to the last of the temples at the foot of the hill. It is situated about a mile to the north-west of the village. It faces the east, and consists of a sanctum, a hall and a porch. The whole temple stands on a highly decorated plinth. The plinth has given way at the back and south side of the sanctum. The walls of the hall also have collapsed on the south side and at the north-west corner. The centre of the lintel of the shrine door is occupied by Garuḍa, holding the tails of two serpents. Above are the *Navagraha* with female musicians. And further at the ends are Gaṇapati and Māhēśvarī on the proper right and left respectively. Inside the sanctum is Vishṇu reposing on Śēsha (*Śēshaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa*). The outside walls of the shrine contain the effigies of Varāha, Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa, and Narasiṁha in the principal niches facing the north, west and south respectively. The other niches do not here, as in other temples, run over the whole length of the vertical mouldings. The figures carved in these niches are mostly dancing females. We also find the *Ashṭa-dikpālas*, who are here sculptured with four hands each. Of these, Kubēra on the north side holds a cup and a wine-flask in his lower and upper left hands. His lower right hand is broken off and the other right hand bears apparently a lotus. What is worthy of note is that he is seated on a bull. The roof of the hall is gone. The finial and *āmalasara* of the spire are also gone, but its walls remain though some bands thereof have here and there become loose.

So far with regard to the temples situated below the hill. Of those on the hill, the most celebrated is the temple of Sachiyā Mātā. It is a sacred place in Mārwāṛ, and people even from as far south as Pālanpur come here to worship the goddess. It is, however, the Ōsvāl Jainas, who regard her with peculiar reverence. They bring their children to the temple for the tonsure ceremony, and invariably present offerings to the goddess after the performance of the marriage rites. The worshippers dare not pass the night at Ōsiā after paying their homage to the goddess, for if they do so, they are sure to be overtaken by some calamity or other.

The temple faces the west, and consists of a shrine, a circumambulatory passage, an assembly-hall and a porch (Plate XLIV *a*). The dome of the assembly-hall is supported on eight pillars octagonally arranged, as we find in structures dating from the 11th century onwards. Round about the dome are sixteen brackets with as many female dancing figures. On the walls of the shrine outside are four niches—what are called the three principal niches and an extra one on the south. In the former facing the south, east, and north respectively are Chāmuṇḍā, the hag with withered breasts, Mahishāsuramardinī, and Śītalā seated on an ass and holding a winnowing basket (*śūrpa*) in two of her hands behind her head. In the fourth niche is a naked image of Bhairava. On the north-east corner of the shrine is an inscription, dated *Saṁvat 1234 Chaitra Sudi 10 Guru*, which mentions that a banker (*sādhu*) Gayapāla, of the Ghobadaṁśu family (*gōtra*) had decorated the sanctum (*jaṁghāghara*) with the images of Chaṇḍikā, Śītalā, Sachchikā, Kshēmaṁkarī and Kshētrapāla. Chaṇḍikā here referred to is obviously Chāmuṇḍā in the niche facing the south. Śītalā is no doubt the goddess installed in the sanctum. Kshēmaṁkarī thus appears to be Mahishāsuramardinī and Kshētrapāla is doubtless the nude Bhairava.

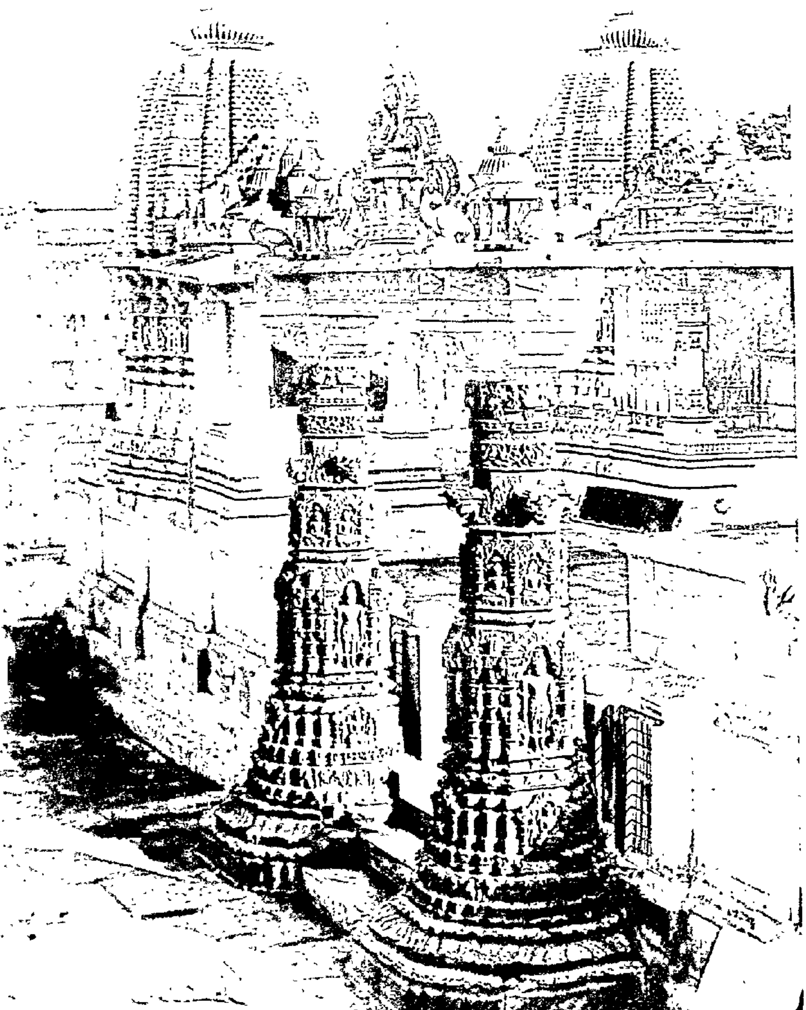
The basement mouldings of the shrine are undoubtedly old, but all other work is of much later age. This is also confirmed by inscriptions engraved on pillars which show that about the close of the twelfth century many Brāhmaṇa families contributed money to erect the various portions of the temple. The temple of Sachiyā-mātā, though originally perhaps as old as the 8th century, the time when the Jaina temple was built, cannot certainly, as it stands, be placed earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. Behind the temple are the ruins of some outhouses. On two of the pillars of these are engraved two inscriptions of the same import. They are dated *Saṁvat 1245 Phālguna sudi 5*, and record the gift of her own house, for use as a stable for keeping Mahāvīra's chariot, by one Sampūrṇa-Śravikā, daughter of Pālhiyā, daughter-in-law of Dēvachaṁdra and wife of Yaśōdhara.

Beside and almost touching the temple of Sachiyā-mātā is another facing the west, with a long *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (Plate XLIII *b*). The pillars of the porch in front of the shrine are carved, but those of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are plain, and are of the same type as those of the temple of Piplā-dēvī below. The door of the shrine also is of the same style as of those below, but here immediately above Garuḍa holding the tails of serpents are only seven of the *Navagraha*, the first and last, *viz.*, Sūrya and Śani, being clearly indicated by lotus flowers and by a beard respectively. Another peculiarity is that the pilasters projecting from the sides of the shrine door are carved with figures of warriors and not with female dancers as is usually the case. Above the warriors figure Saṁkarshaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudēva-Vishṇu on the proper right and left respectively. In the ceiling of the shrine porch are represented, amidst the coils of serpents, two persons, one male playing on a bamboo flute and the other female holding a lotus and looking at him. They cannot be Nāga figures as their heads are not canopied by hoods. Can they be Kṛishṇa and Rādhā? The principal niche on the north outside wall of the shrine is empty, but those facing the south and east are occupied by Gaṇēśa and Sūrya respectively. It deserves to be noticed that Temple No. 7 below the hill has figures of Vāsudēva and Saṁkarshaṇa on the shrine pilasters, whilst Gaṇapati and Sūrya are placed in the south and back principal niches on the exterior. The north niche in the latter case holds an image of Mahishāsura-mardinī, who must have similarly been figured in the empty niche here. Of the remaining figures on the exterior, we have one of Ardhanārīśvara on the north side. It has four hands, one of the male half and one of the female half being broken off. The remaining hand of the male half holds a trident, and of the female, a mirror. On the male side below in the corner is Nandī. On the east wall is a singular figure, seated, with two hands, one above the other and placed between the soles of the feet and with the head canopied by a seven-hooded cobra. On the palm of the upper hand is a lotus mark.

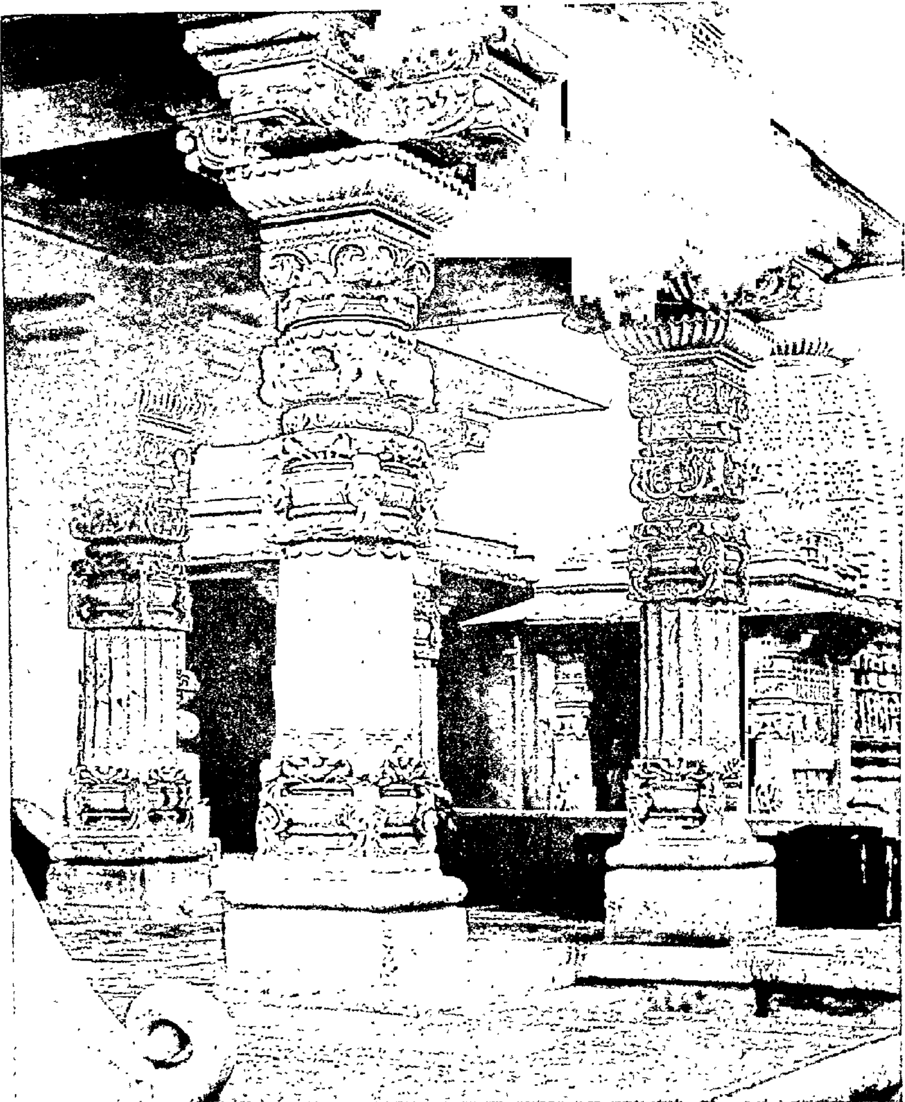
On the proper left of the temple just described is a shrine facing the north. On the lintel over the entrance to the sanctum is, in the centre, Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa, and on his proper right are Gaṇapati and three of the *Sapta-mātṛi* or Seven Divine Mothers, and on his left the remaining four of the latter. Above, on the frieze, are the *Navagraha*, and on the right of Sūrya is a god, seated with four hands, two placed one above the other on the feet and the other two holding a snake which is wound round his neck. On the left of Kētu is a female suckling a child. On the projecting

PLATE XLIII.

TEMPLES OF OSIA.



a. TORANA IN FRONT OF JAIN TEMPLE.



b. TEMPLE OF MAHAVIRA, PORCH.

pilasters of the shrine are two males, that on the proper right is Chandra as indicated by the crescent, and the other unidentifiable. The exterior of the shrine holds Varāhá, Narasiṁha and Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa in the principal niches on the east, south and west faces respectively. On the east wall is a curious figure in which the images of Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and Sūrya are blended. It has three heads, the central wearing a coronet and the side ones matted hair. It wears boots. It originally had eight hands, which are now all broken off but the objects held in the upper hands can be seen. They are a lotus and a trident on the proper right and a lotus and a discus on the left. On the right side of its feet are a small standing figure, and Nandī and the swan, the vehicles of Śiva and Brahmā, and on the left, two standing figures with a horse between them.

On the proper right side of the temple of Sachiyā-Mātā are two shrines facing the south. They are almost exactly alike. Above the lintel in the centre is Vishṇu and at the ends to his proper right and left are Brahmā and Śiva. The intervening spaces are filled with the *Navagraha* and other figures, including two horse-faced ones which no doubt represent the Hayagrīva *avatāra* of Vishṇu. The pillars of the porches are of a late pot-and-foliage type, apparently of about the 11th century. The exteriors of the sancta hold Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Varāha and Narasiṁha, in the principal niches on the east, north and west. Of the remaining figures, one on the east wall is noteworthy as in it Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu and Sūrya are combined, as referred to in the description of the preceding temple. On the north wall is Kubēra with four hands, two of them holding a money bag round his neck. He has here a ram for his vehicle. On the west wall, Nirṛiti is sculptured nude and with a snake round his waist. He has four hands, bearing a sword, thunderbolt, a cup and a human skull.

There are a few more shrines round about, both on the hill and below it, but being of no particular interest they are not described here. Our gain both from the architectural and iconographic points of view is not inconsiderable. The temples of Ōsiā may be classified under three heads : (1) those which were constructed in the 8th and 9th centuries, (2) those which were erected in the 11th and (3) those which were built or rather rebuilt in the 13th century. Nearly all the temples situated below the hill are of the first kind. The style of these fanes closely resembles that of the temples found at Ēraṇ and Paṭhārī in the Central Provinces and Chitōrgaḍh, Āṁvāṁ and Jhālrāpāṭaṇ in Rājputānā, especially with regard to the following three members : (1) pillars, (2) door-frames and (3) spires. By far the best and earliest pillars found at Ōsiā are from the porch of the Jaina temple (Plate XLIII *b*). The fluted square cushion caps of these are found in the cave temples. So also is the ornamental vase with the heavy scrolls of richly carved foliage escaping from its mouth at the four corners of the pillars. Fortunately we have got a date fixed for the temple, which, as the inscription tells us, existed in the time of Vatsarāja who belonged to the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty and flourished about A. D. 770-800. The pillars may, therefore, be safely referred to the last quarter of the 8th century. This agrees with what Cunningham says with regard to the portico pillars of a Vaishṇava temple at Ēraṇ, which according to him " is more modern by at least two or three centuries than the Boar temple."[1] The Boar temple has to be referred to about 500 A.D., and the

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, p. 86.

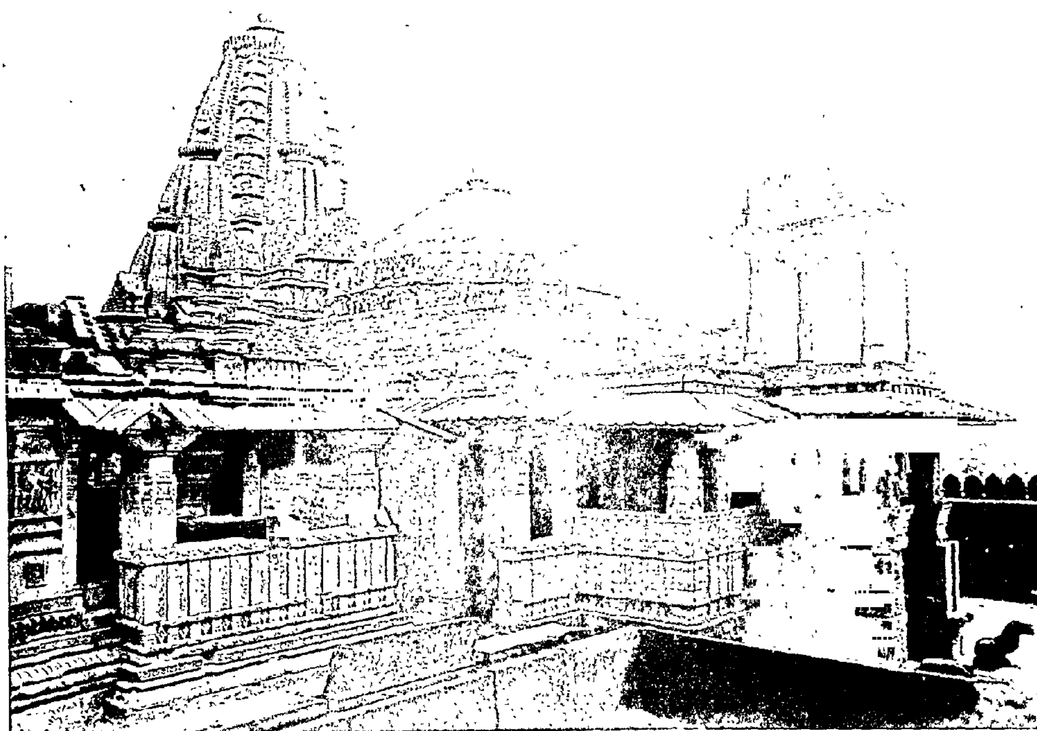
Vaishṇava temple is thus brought down to the 8th century. The shafts of these pillars are in some cases round with sixteen flutings as in the present instance or are left plain and square (Plate XLIII). Sometimes, however, we notice a free use of the *Kīrtimukha* ornament with bells and chains hanging down the shafts. We have only a few instances in the case of Ōsiā temples, though they are by no means uncommon elsewhere. Sometimes the central parts of the sides of these square shafts are carved into floral bands. Pillars of this pattern may be seen in Temple No. 7 and exist also in the temple of Kālikā Mātā in Chitōrgaḍh. This last temple is perhaps the earliest of all the structures of this style, whose beams and pillars are heavier and more massive than those of others, and remind one very much of the Kailāsa and Indrasabhā at Elōrā. A further development of this style of columns is shown by the two pillars and pilasters of the shrine porch of the Piplā-dēvī temple. I have already stated that these have not received their last finish as is quite clear from the chisel marks left on the shafts and bases. Their later age is no doubt indicated by the three recessed corners, which came into vogue in later times. These pillars, however, cannot be much later; for they are certainly almost exactly like the pillars of the Jāgēśvara temple at Sādaḍī in Gōḍvāḍ of the Jōdhpur State and may be even a little earlier.[1] The inscriptions engraved on the latter show that they belonged originally to a temple in Nāḍōl built by Lakshmaṇa, who was the founder of the Mārwāṛ branch of the Chāhamānas and who lived circa 982 A.D. The pillars of the Piplā-dēvī may consequently be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century at the latest.

The characteristics of the door-frames of this period may now be noted. The first point that attracts attention is that very often on the innermost and sometimes on the second mouldings we find Nāga figures with hands folded, their snake tails follow the sides and the lintel, in the centre of which a Garuḍa is found who holds the ends and who sometimes carries a figure of Vishṇu. Another moulding is broken up into a number of panels usually containing pairs of lovers. To the right and left at the lower corners of the doorway invariably stand the two figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā,—the former on her crocodile and the latter on her tortoise. In the cave-temples these goddesses are generally sculptured at the top of the door jambs, but in later times, *i.e.*, from the 7th to the 10th century they came to be figured at the bottom. After the 10th century they almost entirely disappear. These characteristics of the door-frame are always found in combination with the style of pillars just described. They are met with in temples not only in Rājputānā, but also in Central India and the Central Provinces.

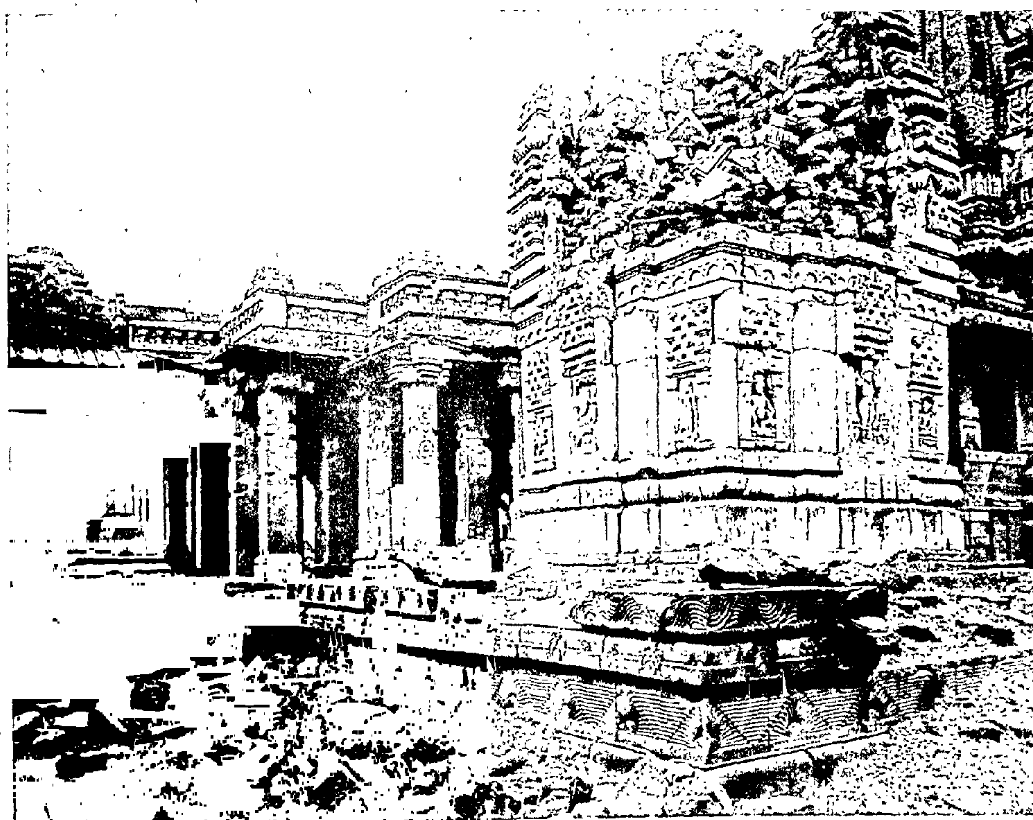
Very little need be said with respect to the spires of the Ōsiā temples, because there exists hardly any temple of this period anywhere else, which has its spire preserved. Those of the Ōsiā temples assume the earlier form of the Gujarāt spire, and represent a transition type between those of Bhuvanēśvar and those of the Chalukyan (Solaṅkī) period.

The work of this period is bold, deep and vigorous, showing great confidence of touch, contrasting favourably with the work of the 11th century and after, when it is shallow, lacking in vigour, and often purposeless in design. The pot-and-foliage style

[1] *Progress Report A. S., Western Circle* for 1908, p. 57.



a. TEMPLE OF SACHIYA MATA, FROM NORTH-WEST.



b. SHRINE CLOSE TO OF SACHIYA MATA.

of pillars is not extinct till the 11th or even the 12th century. But then the capitals become conventionalised, and no longer present a realistic appearance. Besides, the carving is neither deep nor crisp, and such pillars are generally short and rest on the marginal stone benches of the halls and porches. This style is represented by the two pillars which stand immediately over the entrance of the *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* of the Jaina temple and in those of the subsidiary shrines round this and the Sachiyā-mātā temple. Pillars of this pattern may be noticed in the celebrated temple of Modherā in north Gujarāt, which has been assigned by Dr. Burgess to the early part of the 11th century.[1] The long pillars of this period are represented by the columns of the *tōraṇa*, which stands in front of the Jaina temple. This is indicated not only by the date V. E. 1075 (=A.D. 1018) incised on it, but also by its style, which closely resembles that of the long pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Modherā temple just referred to, and also of Vimala-Śā's temple on Mount Ābū. Vimala-Śā, we know, was a *daṇḍanāyaka* of the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīma I., and he constructed the temple in V. E. 1088=A.D. 1031. A similar change is observable in the shrine door of this period. The mouldings of the door jambs in old times were almost always in the same level, but from the 11th century onwards we notice that the central moulding often projects. The goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā are conspicuous by their absence; and so also the folds of serpents on the door jambs. The pairs of lovers are now replaced by gods and goddesses in the panels. All these characteristics may be found at Osiā also in the doors of the subsidiary shrines of the Jaina and Sachiyā-mātā temples and elsewhere such as Modherā, Mount Ābū and wherever temples of this period have survived.

The gain to our iconographic knowledge may now be briefly summed up. Most of the temples, as we have seen, are Vaishṇava. But it is curious that there is not a single temple extant at Ōsiā where the ten incarnations of Vishṇu are sculptured on the door sides or any part of the temple as we find them at Śirpur and other ancient sites. We do, however, find some of the incarnations carved on the outside walls of the shrine or the terraces. They are Varāha, Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, Krishṇa-Balarāma and Buddha. This last is important, for it enables us to assert, as I have said above, that Buddha had been included in the Brahmanic pantheon as early as the 9th century. The Vāmana *avatāra* has in no temple here been figured as a single dwarf with an umbrella as we see it elsewhere, but is always represented by his further development of Trivikrama. In this connection it is of great interest that here the images of even Kṛishṇa and Balarāma are met with. There can be no doubt about the latter's identification as he holds his characteristic attributes, *viz.*, the ploughshare and the club. His head also is canopied by a five-hooded serpent. This is quite in keeping with the mythological belief that regards him as an incarnation of Śēsha. Balarāma appears twice on the projecting pilasters of the shrines—once in Temple No. 7 and again in the temple close beside Sachiyā-mātā. On one pilaster Balarāma is sculptured, and on the other a deity with four hands bearing a conch, discus, mace and lotus. Ordinarily this last would have been called Vishṇu, but as he is placed in conjunction with Balarāma, he must be identified with Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa. There are no other traces of Kṛishṇa at Ōsiā, but in the porch ceiling of the temple close beside Sachiyā-matā just referred to there are carved two figures

[1] *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 81 and Plate VII.

which appear to be Krishṇa and Rādhā. If my conjecture is correct, this would be an interesting fact. Another incarnation of Vishṇu, which, however, is not included in the famous ten, is Hayagrīva, which is found on the door lintels of the two sister shrines on the proper right side of Sachiyā-mātā's temple. These shrines however, cannot be earlier than the 11th century.

There is only one temple which appears to have been dedicated to Śiva. This I infer only from the fact that he occupies the place of honour on the door of the shrine. On the door lintels of Vaishṇava shrines he is always placed on the proper left of Vishṇu. Except as Ardhanārīśvara and as Īśa, the guardian of the north-east direction, he does not appear on the outside walls of the shrines under any form. And this image of Ardhanārīśvara is carved only in the temple near Sachiyā-mātā's. But the scene of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī is found sculptured in a subsidiary shrine of Temple No. 2. This sculpture is, as stated above, as rare as ancient. The third god of the Hindu triad is Brahmā, who figures both on the doors and outside walls of the shrines. Brahmā is here always represented with one head and with or without beard. There is hardly an ancient Hindu temple at Osiā which has not the *Navagraha* carved on the frieze of the shrine doors. The first of these, *viz.*, Sūrya, has no less than two temples dedicated to him, if the image in the central niche of the back wall is to be taken as a criterion. One son of Sūrya is Śani, who occupies a place in the *Navagraha* sculptures only. Another is Rēvanta, who, curiously enough, is no less than three times figured, twice on the subsidiary shrines of Temples Nos. I and II and once in Temple No. VII itself. The second member of the *Navagraha* is Chandra, the Moon, who also appears not only on the exteriors of central and subsidiary shrines, but also on the projecting pilasters of the shrines. He is shown in one case as supported by two birds and not by ten horses which are his true *vāhana*. I have nowhere else except at Osiā met with any image of Chandra.

The principal deities of the Brahmanic pantheon are Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu and Sūrya. Brahmanism never regards them as distinct entities, but often unites two or more into one form. The *Trimūrti* or Triad consisting of the first three gods is too well-known to require any mention. Sometimes Vishṇu and Śiva alone are conjoined into what is known as Harihara, many of whose images have been found at Osiā, as will have been seen from the above description of the temples. In fact, Temples Nos. I and II seem to have been dedicated to this Harihara, as his image is found in the principal niche of the back wall. Sometimes, however, these four gods, *viz.*, Brahmā, Śiva, Vishṇu and Sūrya, are blended into one. Such images are found in later times only. At any rate they have not yet been traced in temples prior to the 11th century. We find them actually sculptured in the shrines round about Sachiyā-mātā's temple and in many other temples at such places as Dilmāl in north Gujarāt, Bhavāḷ in the Jōdhpur State and so forth.

The *Ashṭa-dikpālas* now remain to be considered. In the old temples they are represented with only two hands, but in the later, with four. The *vāhanas* of these Regents of the Quarters are not fixed. Nirṛiti is once (Temple No. I) given the horse as his *vāhana* and not the man. Similarly, Varuṇa once appears with the peacock and not the crocodile as his vehicle. But the greatest confusion is observable

with regard to the *vāhana* of Kubēra. His true *vāhana* appears to be the man, as is clear from his epithet *Nara-vāhana* and he is undoubtedly sculptured in Temple No. I with the man by his side and in Temples Nos. 2 and 6 as on a platform upheld by the man. In Temple No. 10, however, he has the bull beside him. And in the sister shrines on the proper right of Sachiyā-mātā's temple his *vāhana* is shown to be the ram. In no less than three other temples in Rājputānā, Kubēra is represented with the ram as his *vāhana*. Here Kubēra appears only as the guardian of the North Quarter. But he is also the god of riches, and what is worthy of note in this connection is the prominence given to him, as god of riches, as he is figured not only here but elsewhere with Gaṇēśa, the god of good luck, on the lintels of the shrine doors (*e.g.*, Temples Nos. I and II) in the interior of the sancta (*e.g.*, Temple of Piplā-devī) on the outer walls of the shrine (*e.g.*, shrine between Temples Nos. III and IV) and on the front walls of the raised terraces on which the temples stand. At Sakrāī in Śēkhavāṭī, Jaipur State, an inscription dated V. E. 879 (=A.D. 822) has been found, the initial portion of which is an invocation of the blessings of three divinities, *viz.*, Gaṇēśa. Chaṇḍikā and Kubēra. What is worthy of note is that Chaṇḍikā is here placed between Gaṇēśa and Kubēra. This reminds one of the figures on the pedestal in the shrine of Piplā-dēvī's temple at Ōsiā, of which the central figure is that of Mahishāsuramardinī, a form of Chaṇḍikā, flanked by Kubēra and Gaṇapati.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

EPIGRAPHY.[1]

DURING the period under review three parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued, *viz.*, Parts IV, V and VI of Volume IX. In his article entitled "Three Early Brāhmī inscriptions" Professor Lüders has published :—(1) an epigraph of the Kushaṇa king Kāṇishka dated in the year 10 ; (2) another of Vāsu[shka][2] of the same family dated in the year 74 ; and (3) one of the time of the *Mahākshatrapa* Śoṁḍāsa. The first is inscribed on the lower half of a sculptured stone preserved in one of the cases of the "northern gallery of the British Museum." The sculpture at the top of the stone bears two figures, male and female, sitting on a bench. The concluding words of the inscription seem to refer to the temple of a goddess. Professor Lüders, therefore, thinks it very probable that the sculpture represents a Nāga and Nāgī. That there were temples in Northern India for the worship of serpents during the Kushaṇa period is borne out by two Mathurā inscriptions which mention the temple (*sthāna*) of the Nāgēndra Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa.

The late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Mount Ābū Vimala temple inscription. The chief point of interest in it is the statement that the temple had been founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda (*i.e.*, Mount Ābū) by the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. A number of other inscriptions of Mount Ābū are briefly reviewed at the beginning of the article. Professor Kielhorn's labours for South-Indian chronology conclude with two articles, one on the dates of Chōḷa kings and the other on those of the Pāṇḍyas. With his usual passion for doing to perfection whatever he undertook, he has also furnished a summary of his researches into Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya chronology

The Pathārī pillar inscription of Parabala edited by the same scholar reveals the existence, in the second half of the 9th century A.D., of a Rāshṭrakūṭa family in a portion of Central India. Parabala's father Karkarāja is said to have defeated a king named Nāgāvalōka, while the elder brother of

[1] Some of the most important epigraphical discoveries made in 1908-09 have been noticed above under Exploration and Research.

[2] It remains uncertain whether the name of the king in this inscription is Vāsushka or Vāsudēva.

Karkarāja's father claims to have taken possession of the Lāṭa kingdom after defeating the Karṇāṭas. The other articles of Professor Kielhorn relate to the Bālāghāt plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivishēṇa II, and the Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañjadēva.

Mr. Bhandarkar has edited the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta, dated [Vikrama-]Saṁvat 682 = A.D. 625. This Varmalāta has been identified by Professor Kielhorn with his namesake mentioned in some of the manuscripts of the Sanskṛit poem *Śiśupālavadha* as the king under whom Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva is said to have held the office of prime minister. The Sanskṛit poet Māgha would thus belong to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In the Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 715, Mr. Bhandarkar finds that a portion of the inscription has been forged by "heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved." The donor Samarāvalōka Śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇarāja was the son of Śrī-Nanna, the paternal uncle of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king (Dhruva-) Nirupama.

Of the Pratīhāras, three records are published by Mr. Bhandarkar, two of Kakkuka (Saṁvat 918) and one of Nāgabhaṭṭadēva (Saṁvat 872). One of the former is interesting, as it informs us that the village of Rōhiṁsakūpaka (Ghaṭiyāḷā) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Ābhīras, whose predatory instincts are not quite extinct even to the present day. The village seems to have been deserted on this account but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahirs.

Pandit Hira Lal's contributions throw considerable light on the history of Bastar in the Central Provinces and the adjacent country about which almost nothing was hitherto known. His researches have disclosed the existence of a branch of the Nāgas ruling over Bastar, and he has also located the province named Chakrakōṭa (Śakkara-kōṭṭam in Tamil inscriptions) which the Chōḷas of Tanjore claim to have subdued. Of Mahā-Śudēva of Śarabhapura, two copper plates are published, one from Khariār, in the Raipur District, by Dr. Konow and the other from Sārangarh, in the Chhattīsgaṛh Division of the Central Provinces, by Pandit Hira Lal. Of the Sōmavaṁśi kings of Kākaira, Pandit Hira Lal publishes two copper-plates and a stone inscription. He thinks there can be little doubt that the family owed allegiance probably to the Haihayas of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era in two of the records would indicate.

Mr. K. B. Pathak has published the Kēndūr plates, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 672 of the Western Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II., the historical portion of which is almost identical with that of theVakkalēri plates of the same king critically edited by Professor Kielhorn. Professor Hultzsch has republished with a collotype plate the Tirumalai rock inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (A.D. 1012-42), whose extensive conquests are described in the historical introduction with which the inscription opens. In his paper on the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of the Kākatīya king Prōla (A.D. 1117), Mr. Krishna Sastri has discussed the origin of the family and the conquests of Prōla. Mr. Sewell has contributed a note on Bhujabala Mahārāya, Mr. Gopinatha Rao an article on the Māmbaḷḷi plate of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallavaṅgōdai (A.D. 973) and Mr. R. D. Banerji a paper on the Paṭiākellā grant of Śivarāja (Gupta-Saṁvat 283).

During the year under review, three more natural caverns with rock-cut beds and Brāhmī inscriptions were discovered in the hills at Tirupparaṅgunṛam, Aḷagarmalai and Kunnakkudi in the Madura District of the Madras Presidency. The first two also bear later Jaina sculptures and inscriptions. These rock-cut beds and Brāhmī inscriptions are, in all probability, Buddhist monuments, though no unmistakable traces of that creed have so far been found in any of the caverns of the Tamil country.

Mr. Rea has found a gold coin of the Gupta king Samudragupta during his excavations at Śaṅkaram in the Vizagapatam District and Dr. Vogel a broken stone image (said to have come from Kanauj) at Farukhabad with a votive inscription in the Gupta alphabet.

Dr. Bloch mentions an inscription in characters of the 6th or 7th century A.D. on the coping stone of the ancient railing at Bōdh-Gayā. It refers to the fact of the plaster and painting (*sudhā-lēpya*) over the temple having been restored and to the *vajrāsana gandhakuṭī* as a building separate from the temple (*prāsāda*). The former term perhaps refers to some shrine near the temple which contained an image of Vajrāsana (*i.e.*, Buddha).[1]

Among the inscriptions preserved in the Ajmer Museum is a stone originally found at Sāmoḷi in the Bhūmaṭ District, Mewār. It is dated in [Vikrama-Saṁvat] 703=A. D. 646 and belongs to the reign of Śīlāditya, who is identical with Śīla, one of the earliest Guhila kings. Two records of the Paramāras have been newly acquired for the Ajmer Museum, one belonging to Chāmuṇḍarāja and the other to his son Vijayarāja. The former is undated, but an inscription from Arthūṇā noticed by the late Professor Kielhorn and belonging to the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja is dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1136. The date of Vijayarāja is Vikrama-Saṁvat 1166.

According to local traditions, the fort at Jālor in Southern Mārwār was first built by the Paramāras, and the town afterwards became the capital of the Chōhān kings. The earliest inscription found in Jālor is that of a Paramāra king named Vīsala dated Saṁvat 1174. Here we are told that Mallāradēvī, queen of Vīsala, presented a golden cupola to the temple of Sindhurājēśvara. The names of six predecessors of Vīsala are also given, and it may therefore be presumed that the Paramāra family held sway over Jālor from about 997 A.D.

Two inscriptions of the time of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla have been found by Mr. Bhandarkar, one at Nāḍlāī and the other at Jālor in the Jodhpur State. In the arsenal (*tōpkhānā*) at Jālor which was originally a mosque built from materials obtained by demolishing Hindu and Jaina temples, is an epigraph which refers to a temple of Pārśvanātha under the name Kuvara-vihāra. The temple was built in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1221 by the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, who was enlightened by Śrī-Hēmasūri on the fort of Kāṁchanagiri belonging to Jābālipura (Jālor). The only old portions of this temple now left are the outside walls of the shrine. Mr. Bhandarkar thinks they are certainly of the Solaṅkī period and could very well have been built in the time of Kumārapāla. The temple was evidently desecrated at a later period and the sculptures carried off to build the mosque. Subsequently it was rebuilt and dedicated to Mahāvīra about Saṁvat 1681, during the time of the Mahārāja Śrī-Gajasiṁhaji

[1] *Cf.* beneath p. 145.

of the Rāṭhoḍ family and Sūrasiṁgha lineage, by Jayamalajī[1], who was an Osvāl Muṇoyat. It is worthy of note here that the chronicle known as *Mūtā-Neṇsījī-rī khyāt* was composed by Naiṇasī, son of Jayamalajī. The Nāḍlāī inscription mentioned above furnishes the latest date for Kumārapāla, *viz.*, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1228, the earliest date of his successor Ajayapāla, *viz.*, 1229 being furnished by an Udaypur epigraph.

As in previous years, Mr. Bhandarkar's tour in Rajputana has resulted in the discovery of some interesting Chāhamāna inscriptions. In the Sūraj Pol or "Gateway of the Sun" at Nāḍol which is said to have been built by Rāv Lākhaṇ is a much defaced inscription on which the date 1039 and the name Lāsha(kha)ṇa can be just made out. According to other Chāhamāna records, the founder of the Mārwār branch of the Chāhamānas was Lakshmaṇa, who was the son of Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī. At Āuwā in the Jodhpur State is the temple of Kāmēśvara which may be assigned to the 9th century A.D. The temple is locally noted for the *chāndī* or self-immolation of the Chāraṇs which took place in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1643=A.D. 1586. The earliest inscription found in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of this temple records a gift by the Sonigarā prince Jindrapāla, son of Aṇahila, in Saṁvat 1132. For his son Jōjaladēva we have the date Saṁvat 1147, and Rāyapāla is represented by several inscriptions ranging in date from Saṁvat 1189 to 1202. Two of them from Nāḍol deserve to be mentioned. One dated Saṁvat 1198 registers an agreement taken from 16 brāhmaṇas of Dhālop, about 4 miles south of Nāḍol (two from each of the 8 *pāḍi* or wards of Dhālop). The agreement was to the effect that if anything was lost belonging to a bhāṭ, bhaṭṭaputra, dauvārika, mendicant or vanjār, while passing by Dhālop, the 16 brāhmaṇas were to trace the property or make good the loss. If it was lost in any particular ward, the brāhmaṇas responsible for that ward were to make the recompense. The second, dated in Saṁvat 1200, reports that a certain chief (rāṇaka) Bhanana belonging to the Karṇāṭa country freed the dancing girls of Usapa-pattana from the tax called *daśabandha*. Rāyapāla's sons by Āṁnaldēvī were Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla. Several inscriptions of Kēlhaṇa have been found with dates ranging from Saṁvat 1220 to 1236.

It was Kīrtipāla, who probably reigned between Saṁvat 1236 and 1239, that removed the Chāhamāna capital from Nāḍol to Jābālipura, *i.e.*, Jālor. Apparently, Kīrtipāla began the fortifications of Jālor but did not live long enough to complete them. His son Samarasiṁha is credited in the Sūndhā hill inscription with the building of extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala, *i.e.*, the fort hill of Jālor. The Kuvara-vihāra built during the reign of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla was rebuilt in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1242 by the *bhaṁḍārī* Yaśōvīra in accordance with the orders of the *Mahārāja* Samarasiṁhadēva of the Chāhamāna family. Of Chāchigadēva we have an inscription in the arsenal (*tōpkhānā*) at Jālor dated in Saṁvat 1323. After him came the *mahārājakula* Sāmantasiṁha who was reigning at Suvarṇagiri in Saṁvat 1353. Jālor continued to be the capital of the Chāhamānas until Vikrama-Saṁvat 1355=A.D. 1298, when Sāmantasiṁha was king. This date is furnished by an inscription found at Chohṭaṇ which refers itself to the conjoint reigns of Sāman-

[1] Jayamallajī set up the image of Padmaprabha in a Jaina temple at Nāḍol, in Saṁvat 1686, during the reign of the Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha. The former was residing at Yōdhapuranagara, *i.e.* the city of Jodhpur.

tasiṁha and his son Kānhaḍadēva. Though no inscriptions of the latter have been found so far,* there can be no doubt that he was king for a short time at least, as he is twice referred to in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishtāh*. Jālor was probably occupied by the Muhammadans shortly before A.D. 1309, when Kāṇhaḍadēva was slain and his family put to the sword. The son of Kāṇhaḍadēva was Vīramadēva, by whom the old *kacheri* at Jālor is said to have been built. *Vīramdēv-ki-chaukī* at Jālor is nothing but a raised platform where Vīramadēva intended to raise a *chhatrī*. But this was never done. Vaṇavīra and his son Raṇavīra mentioned in a Nāḍlāī inscription of Saṁvat 1443 were apparently later members of the Chāhamāna family.[1]

The Aḍhāī-dīn-kā-Jhopḍā mosque at Ajmer was built from materials belonging to a Brāhmaṇical temple. In plan it is not unlike the *tōpkhānā* at Jālor. It was in the former mosque that two inscribed tablets (removed to the Lucknow Museum) were found containing the two dramas *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka* and *Harakēli-nāṭaka*. In the walls of the two small stair-cases above the *mihrāb* of the mosque are two lines of writing which show that the original temple, whose materials were utilised for the mosque, had been built by the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja (-Vīsaladēva) of Śākambharī.[2] Of the Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, who flourished in the 15th century, a few facts have been recorded by Mr. Bhandarkar. An inscription from Kumalgaḍh informs us that Kumbhakarṇa set up an image of the god Hanumat. He seems to have taken great pains to collect old inscriptions of his family in order to prepare a reliable genealogical list. Kumbhakarṇa is also supposed to have built the Māmādēva temple at Kumalgaḍh. But Mr. Bhandharkar thinks it was originally a Jaina fane but was afterwards decorated by the Rāṇā Kumbha with Brāhmaṇical images in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1515-16=A.D. 1458-59. The Bedi near the Rām-poḷ at Kumalgaḍh is also said to have been built by Rāṇā Kumbha, probably in commemoration of the completion of the fort, when he offered a sacrifice.

A Nāḍlāi inscription of Saṁvat 1557 sets forth the genealogy of the Mēwār dynasty. Of the earlier princes, Śīlāditya, Guhadatta and Khuṁmāṇa are mentioned. Of the later, Hamīra, Khetasīha, Lakhamasīha, Mokala and Kumbhakarṇa are referred to. The son of the last was Rāyamalla, to whose reign the inscription belongs. Under orders from Pṛithvīrāja, the eldest son of Rāyamalla, an image of Ādinātha was installed in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1557 (=A.D. 1501).

The Chandēllas of Jējābhukti in Bundelkhand are represented by a copper-plate grant of the reign of Paramardidēva dated in Saṁvat 1233. The inscription will be published by Professor Venis in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

During the period under review, Mr. Krishna Sastri copied Pallava inscriptions at four villages in the Chingleput District. The rock-cut cave at Pallāvaram near Madras contains *birudas* similar to those engraved in the upper cave at Trichinopoly, and may be assigned to the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. On the hill at Tiruk-

* The old step-well called *Sāṇḍ-vāv* outside the *kacheri* at Jālor is said to have been built during the reign of Kānhaḍadēva.

[1] The Chāhamāna Viṁśarāka, son of Pāpayarā, who is mentioned with the date Saṁvat 1187 in a Nāḍlāī inscription, is unknown from other records. Dusaladēva, son of Vijayapāla, and Kāka, son of Sonapāla, are referred to in two Āuwā epigraphs. The date of the former is Saṁvat 1168 and that of the latter Saṁvat 1229. The family to which the *mahārājādhirāja* Sāmantasīhadēva, known from four inscriptions dated Saṁvat 1258—one from Sāṇḍerāv and the other three from Bāmpeṇā—cannot be ascertained at present.

[2] Other inscribed fragments found in the mosque show that they form part of a *praśasti* of the Chāhamāna family.

kaḷukkuṉṟam is another monolithic cave which bears a fragmentary inscription of Vātāpikoṇḍa Narasiṅgappōttaraśar, *i.e.* Narasiṁhavarman I. The cave was probably excavated by him, or prior to his reign. In the Kandasvāmin temple at Tiruppōrūr are two pillars on which are engraved some of the *birudas* of the Pallava king Rājasiṁha The Vyāghrapurīśvara temple at Vāyalūr has a pillar which bears a Pallava inscription. It opens with the names Brahman, Aṅgiras, Bṛihaspati, Śaṁyu, Bhāradvāja, Drōṇa, Aśvatthāman and Pallava, and then mentions Aśōka, Harigupta and Āryavarman among the ancestors of the Pallavas. The names or surnames of a number of kings are then registered without giving their relationship to one another. The following is a list of them : (1) Mahēndravarman ; (2) Karanda (Kalindavarman ?) ; (3) Vishṇugōpa (thrice) ; (4) Kumāravishṇu (twice) ; (5) Buddhavarman (twice) ; (6) Skandavarman (five times) ; (7) Siṁhavarman (four times) ; (8) Vīravarman ; and (9) Nandivarman. The inscription, in a subsequent passage, introduces Siṁhavishṇu and the following names, apparently in regular succession : Mahēndravarman (I.), Narasiṁhavarman (I.), Mahēndravarman (II.) and Paramēśvaravarman (I.). His son was Rājasiṁha, who also bore the surname Kshatrasiṁha It was apparently after the surname of this king that one of the shrines in the Shore temple at the Seven Pagodas was called Kshatriyasiṁha-Pallava-Īśvara.

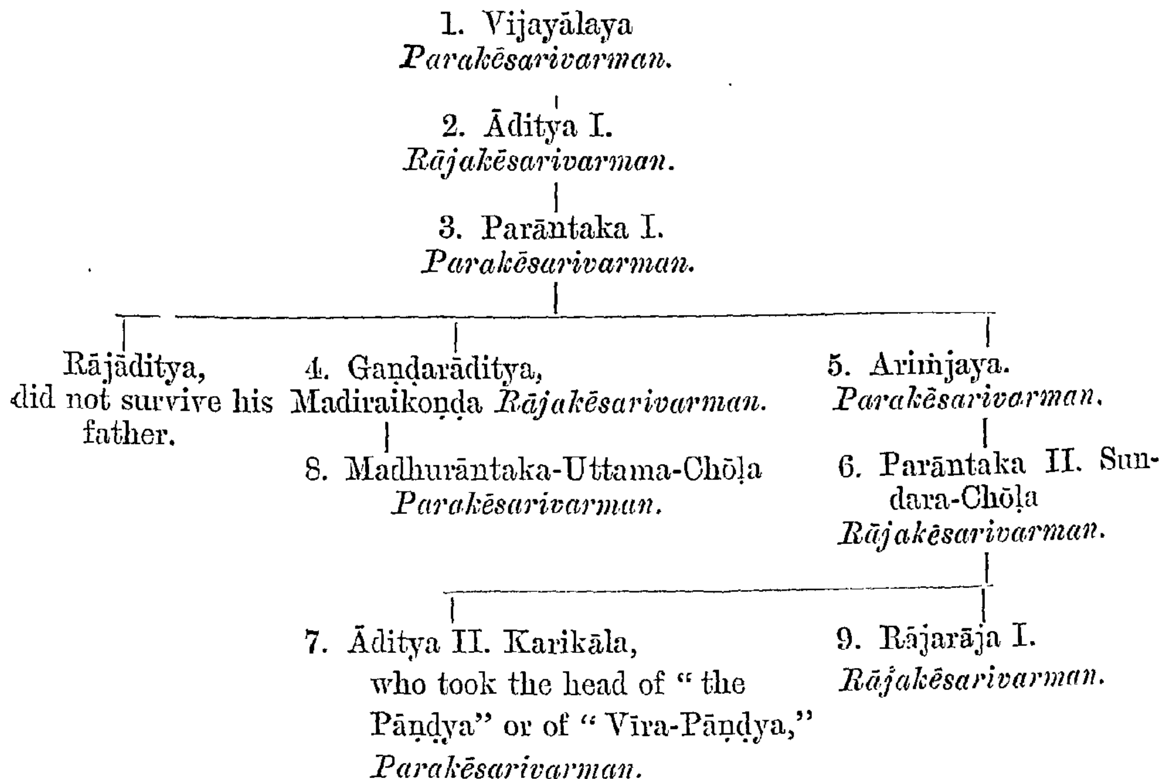
The Tiruppōrūr and Vāyalūr pillars do not appear to belong to the temples where they are now found. It is, therefore, probable that they belonged originally to some Pallava temple which has not yet been traced. If this be the case, it would add to the number of structural monuments of the Pallava period which are not many.

Of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, three inscriptions are registered, *viz.* one of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, another of Nṛipatuṅgappōttaraiyar and a third of Vijaya-Aparājita.

Of the early Pāṇḍyas, four records have been copied, three belonging to Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and the fourth to Varaguṇa-Mahārāja. Two of the mediæval Pāṇḍya inscriptions are interesting. One of them, dated in the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva, states that the members of the assembly of a certain village wished to pay their respects to their king. They had to raise money for the purpose by offering to make certain temple-lands free from assessment in exchange for 120 *kāśu* received from the tenants. Another record of the same reign registers an endowment for special offerings at the spot where a man was put to death by being tied to the leg of a he-buffalo and dragged for his crime of having murdered a brāhmaṇa.

In the history of the Chōḷas there are one or two points to which attention may be drawn. The interval between the death of Parāntaka I. and the accession of Rājarāja I. was occupied apparently by the reigns of six Chōḷa kings whose identity is discussed at length in the epigraphical report of the Southern Circle. The kings were called Rājakēsarivarman and Parakēsarivarman, alternately. We have a few facts which seem to offer a reasonable solution of the difficulties, if they are looked at in the proper light. In the first place, we have a successor of Parāntaka I. named Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsarivarman, another called Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II., who seems to have been a Rājakēsarivarman, a third called Parakēsari-

varman, who took the head "of the Pāṇḍya" or "of Vīra-Pāṇḍya" and a fourth known as Uttama-Chōḷa Madhurāntaka Parakēsarivarman. On the supposition that Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka I., reigned after his father under the designation Rājakēsarivarman, Mr. Krishna Sastri is obliged to conclude that the Chōḷa king who overcame Vīra Pāṇḍya could not have been Āditya Karikāla. But we know that Parāntaka I. reigned from A. D. 907 for about 46 years.[1] The battle of Takkōlam must have taken place and prince Rājāditya must have been killed before A. D. 949-50. Consequently, it is very unlikely that Rājāditya reigned after his father.[2] If it is conceded that the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya never reigned after his father as an independent king, it becomes easy to explain the Chōḷa succession in the light of the available facts. As Parāntaka I. was a Parakēsarivarman, his successor Gaṇḍarāditya would be a Rājakēsarivarman, and I would attribute the inscriptions of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsarivarman to him. His son Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa, the immediate predecessor of the great Rājarāja, was a Parakēsarivarman. Gaṇḍarāditya's immediate successor Arimjaya probably bore the title Parakēsarivarman, while Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōḷa, the son of the latter, must have been a Rājakēsarivarman.[3] His son Āditya II. Karikāla would, in that case, be called Parakēsarivarman. The great Rājarāja I. who claimed the Chōḷa crown from his elder brother Āditya Karikāla (and *not* from his immediate predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa, who was a usurper) called himself Rājakēsarivarman. All these will appear at a glance on the accompanying table.



Of Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa Parakēsarivarman a dated inscription has been

[1] We have this regnal year in an inscription of his reign from Kaṇḍiyūr in the Tanjore District (No. 15 of 1895).

[2] I may here mention that the year 2 with which the Śōḷapuram inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 194) opens cannot refer to the regin of Rājāditya, as it is evidently a record of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III. It is probably the second year after the occupation of the Toṇḍai-nāḍu by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III.

[3] No. 299 of 1908 probably belongs to his reign.

found at Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ-Tirumalai in the Trichinopoly District. It is dated in Śaka 901 and Kaliyuga 4080. This confirms the date found for him at Tiruvaḍamarudūr in the Tanjore District during the previous year.[1] One of the records of Kulōttuṅga I. (A. D. 1070 to 1118) copied during the year is interesting, as it decides a complicated question of caste and determines the professions to be followed by the *rathakāras*, who are described as the sons of *māhishyas* by *karaṇī* women. On the strength of authorities like Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭilya, Bōdhāyana and others, the *bhaṭṭas* (*i.e.* the learned brāhmaṇas) of Rājāśraya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam defined (1) a *māhishya* as one born of a Kshatriya father by a Vaiśya mother (2) a *karaṇī* as the daughter of a Vaiśya father by a Śūdra mother and (3) a *rathakāra* as the son of a *māhishya* father by a *karaṇī* mother. They were permitted to adopt any of the following trades :—(1) architecture, (2) building coaches and chariots, (3) erecting *gōpuras* of temples with images on them, (4) manufacture of implements required for Brāhmaṇical sacrifices, (5) building *maṇḍapas*, (6) making jewels for kings, such as diadems, bracelets, *etc.*

At Śaṅkaram in the Vizagapatam District Mr. Rea has found a number of copper coins with the legend *Vishmasiddhi*, which was a surname of the first Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana I. Eight of the copper-plates examined by Mr. Krishna Sastri belong to the Eastern Chalukya dynasty and to the following kings :—Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III., Tāḍa II., Amma II. Vijayāditya, Chālukya-Bhīma I., Kōkilivarma-Mahārāya, Kakuli-Mahārāja, Maṅgi-Yuvarāja II., and Kokuḷi-Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka. The last four kings are unknown from other sources. The language in the grants of the first two of the latter is so full of mistakes that the text appears to have been drawn up and engraved by an illiterate man. One of these two refers to the territorial division Madhyama-Kaliṅga, which Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies with the Modocalingæ of Megasthenes. The grant of Chālukya Bhīma I. refers to Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadēśa and to Dēvarāshṭra-vishaya. Dēvarāshṭra with its king Kubēra is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription among the provinces conquered by the Gupta king Samudragupta.

Two other copper plates of the southern collection require to be noticed. One of them belongs to the time of Indravarman of the family of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, who were devotees of the lord of Śrī-Parvata (identified by Professor Kielhorn with Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District). The other is dated during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III. and was issued from Dantipura in Śaka 967. This is the earliest known record of the king.

At the instance of Dr. Konow, the Assistant Superintendent of the Southern Circle deputed a member of his establishment to copy the inscriptions of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces. Of the 15 inscriptions of the Sindas copied on this tour, eight are in the Telugu and seven in the Nāgarī alphabet. The following is the list of Sinda kings of Bastar derived from them :

Jagadēkabhūshaṇa Mahārāja [Dhārāvarsha ?] Śaka 982 Śārvarin ; Śaka 983, Śārvarin ; Śaka 984.

Sōmēśvaradēva, Śaka 1019, Īśvara ; Rājabhūshaṇa-Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvaradēva, Saumya [*i.e.*, Śaka 992].

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1907-08, p. 230.

Kanharadēva, son of Rājabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja Sōmēśvaradēva and grandson of Rājabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja Dhārāvarshadēva and Guṇḍa-Mahādēvi, Śaka 1033, Khara.

Mahārāja-Narasiṅghadēva, Śaka 1140; Jagadēkabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja *alias* Narasiḥyadēva-Mahārāja, Śaka 1147.

Jagadēkabhūshaṇa-Mahārāja *alias* Sōmēśvaradēva Chakravartin of the Nagpur Museum inscription, whose date is Śaka-Saṁvat 1130, must have reigned between Kanharadēva and Narasiṅghadēva of the foregoing list. Dikpāladēva, Dariāvadēva and Bhairamadēva of the present ruling dynasty of Bastar are also represented in the inscriptions of the State.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period we find an inscription of Virūpāksha I. from Tiruviḻimiḻalai referring to Kāvirippūmbaṭṭiṇam in Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāḍu. A stone inscription of Śirigirinātha Uḍaiyar, son of Vīra-Vijayabhūpati, has been copied at Vaḷuvūr in the North Arcot District. The only other sure record of this prince hitherto known is the Madras Museum copper-plate inscription[1] where we are told that he was governing the country round Maratakapuri (known as Marataka-nagaraprānta), located tentatively in the North Arcot District. In an inscription of Kṛishṇarāya from Neyvaṇai in the South Arcot District, the king is said to have remitted some taxes in favour of certain Vishṇu temples of the Chōḷa country.

The Kākatīyas of Worangal; the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra; the Velanāṇḍu chiefs; the Kēraḷa king Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, who invaded Kāñchi about the beginning of the 14th century A. D.; the Chōḷa feudatory chiefs bearing the name Śambuvarāya, who held temporary sway over a portion of the Toṇḍai-nāḍu in the 14th century; and the Pāṇḍyas of the 16th and 17th centuries A. D. are also represented in the year's collection. In the monolithic cave at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam, which, as I have already pointed out, probably came into existence during the reign of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I. or prior to his reign, have been cut a large number of Dutch names in Roman characters. A number of these names have been traced to the period of the Dutch occupation of the Coromandel Coast. Some of them were governors and chiefs of settlements.

Of the inscriptions copied in Burma, three possess exceptional historical interest. One of them was set up by Kyanzittha, the successor of Anawrata of Pagan, in B. E. 398 (=A. D. 1036), while he was leading the life of an exile in the neighbourhood of Amyin. The second was engraved in B. E. 577 (=A. D. 1215) and settles the question of the identity of the celebrated Buddhist divine Mahāthera Paunglaungshin Katthapa with the Mahāthera Panthagu of Pagan. The third records the existence at Kyauksauk in the Myingyan District, as late as B. E. 830 (=A. D. 1468), of the heretical sect of Aris who were suppressed at Pagan by Anawrata in the 11th century A. D.

In the history of Indian religions, the Śaiva creed of Southern India occupies no small place. Its antiquity is undoubted and may be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Śaiva saints Tirunāvukkaraśar, Tirujñāṇsambandar, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār and Māṇikkavāśagar were some of the early exponents of the creed and have left a rich legacy of Tamil hymns which are looked upon as

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. *VIII*, p. 306.

sacred by the Tamil Śaivas and are recited in most of the important Śiva temples of Southern India. Provision is made in some of the Tamil inscriptions of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries for the recitation in Śiva temple of the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns, *i.e.* the compositions of the first three of the above mentioned saints. In due course, *maṭhas* sprang up presided over by Śaiva *saṁnyāsins* and called after the two famous saints Tirujñāṉasambandar and Tirunāvukkaraśar. These were richly endowed by ancient kings. Tiruchchattimuṟṟam, Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, Tiruvārūr and Kōvilūr in the Tanjore District; Tiruppalātturai and Tiruvāṉaikkāval in the Trichinopoly District and Tirupputtūr in the Madura District contained Śaiva *maṭhas* in the 13th century. Mr. Krishna Sastri is of opinion that the present *maṭha* of Śaṁkarāchārya at Tiruvāṉikkāval belonged originally to the Śaiva *maṭha* at Tiruchchattimuṟṟam and was presided over by the *Mudaliyārs* of that institution. The *maṭhas* at Tiruvāḍuturai and Dharmapuram in the Tanjore District and the Tirujñāṉasambandaṉ-maḍam at Madura are the modern representatives of the old Śaiva religious institutions of the Tamil country and exercise no small influence over the people committed to their spiritual care.

V. VENKAYYA.

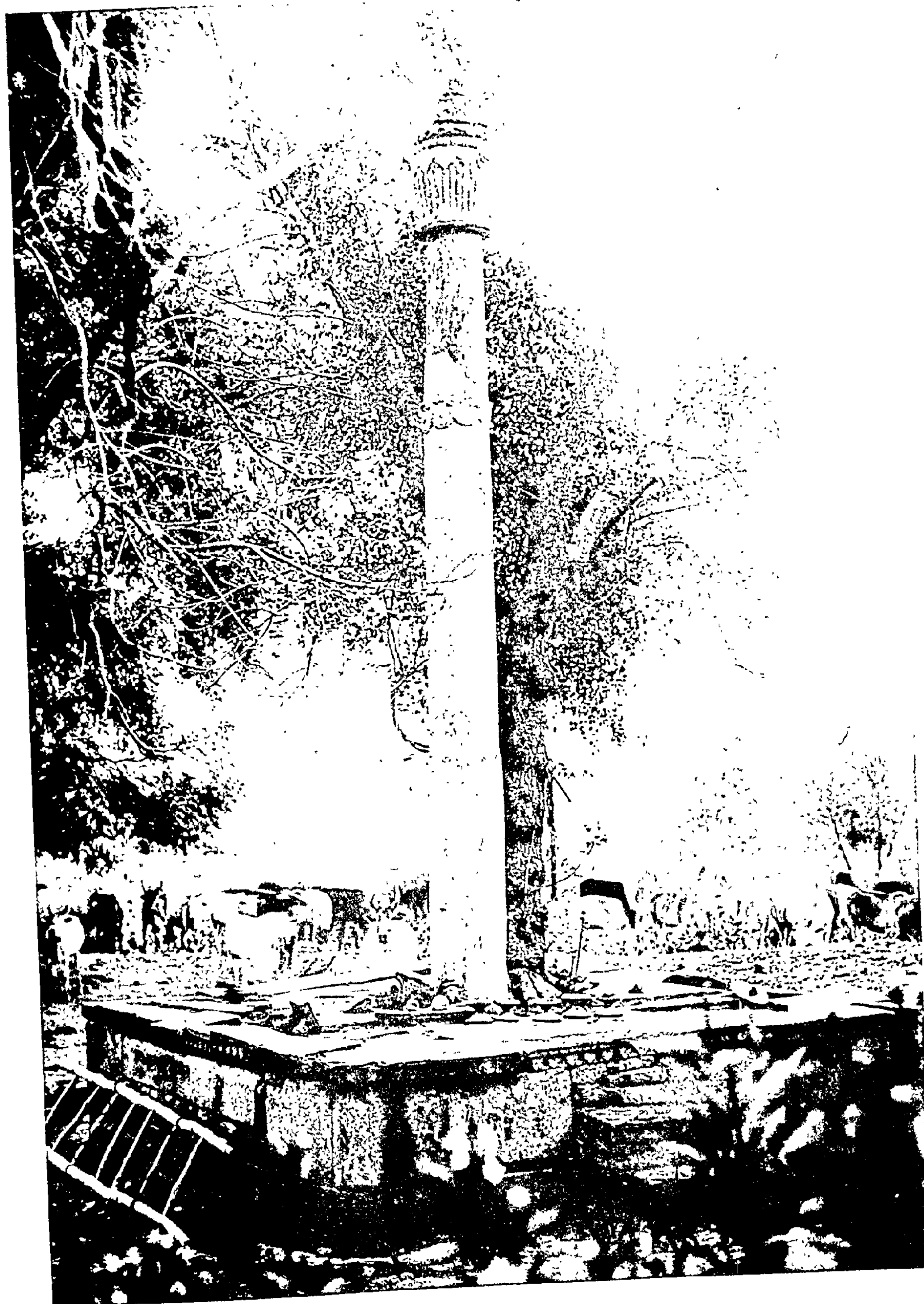
THE GARUDA PILLAR OF BĒSNAGAR.

In January 1877, in the course of a survey of the ancient site of Bēsnagar in Gwalior State, General Cunningham [1] noticed a pillar which he describes as "the fan-palm pillar" on account of the palm-leaf ornament with which the capital is crowned. From its style he felt inclined to assign it to the period of the Imperial Guptas. As so many a relic of the past, the pillar had been made an object of popular veneration and, in the course of worship, the shaft had been covered with a thick crust of red lead (*sindūr*). Cunningham was consequently unable to ascertain whether it was inscribed and he had to rest content with the assurance of the local priests that it was not. He thus missed a most important discovery which it was Mr. Marshall's good fortune to make thirty-two years after the pillar had been noted by his predecessor.

"The shaft of the column," Mr. Marshall writes,[2] "is a monolith octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided above, with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions; the capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type, with a massive abacus surmounting it; and the whole is crowned with a palm-leaf ornament of strangely unfamiliar design, which I strongly suspect did not originally belong to it. In 1877 this column was thickly encrusted from top to bottom, as it still is, with vermilion paint smeared on it by pilgrims, who generation after generation have come to worship at the spot. Judging, however, from the proportions of the capital and the form of the shaft, Cunningham came to the conclusion that the monument belonged to the period of the Imperial Guptas, and, there is no doubt that the similitude of other monuments of that epoch justified him in forming this opinion. He surmised too, that beneath the coats of vermilion an inscription might very likely be hidden, which would explain the history of the column; but he found great difficulty when he tried to clean off the paint and, being assured by the local Pūjārīs that no such record existed, he reluctantly gave up the attempt to find it. Cunningham's surmise, it now turns out, was perfectly

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 41. f.; plate XIV.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1909, pp. 1052 ff. *Cf.* also Fleet, *ibidem* pp. 1087 ff. and Barnett, pp. 1093 f; Fleet, *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 141 f Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 104 ff.; Venis, *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 813 ff. and Fleet, *ibidem*, pp. 815 ff.



THE GARUDA PILLAR OF BESNAGAR.

correct, though he was misled as to the date of the column and little could have dreamt of the value of the record which he just missed discovering. Possibly, since his day, some of the old paint has peeled off, and the fresh coats that have been added are thinner than they used to be. However this may be, on the occasion of my visit to Bēsnagar last January [1909], the State Engineer, Mr. Lake, discerned what he believed to be lettering on the lower part of the column, and the removal of a little paint quickly proved him to be right. A glance at the few letters exposed was all that was needed to show that the column was many centuries earlier than the Gupta era. This was, indeed, a surprise to me, but a far greater one was in store when the opening lines of the inscription came to be read. The memorial, they state, was a Garuḍadhvaja, set up in honour to Vāsudēva by Hēliodōros, the son of Diōn, a Bhāgavata, who came from Taxila in the reign of the great king Antialkidas."

Antialkidas is one of the Indo-Baktrian kings who ruled in the Kābul valley and in the Panjāb. As he is the only one of the later kings who struck money on the Attic standard, Professor Gardner assumes that he was either a contemporary or an immediate successor of Hēlioklēs. In other words, he must have ruled about the middle of the second century B.C. His coins have been found at Beghram in Afghanistan and as far south as Sonepat, the ancient Suvarṇaprastha, north of Delhi.[1]

The inscription mentions, moreover, an Indian ruler, named Kāsīputa Bhāgabhadra, to whose dominions the site of Bēsnagar evidently belonged. It appears that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth year of the reign of this king. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposes to identify the Bhāgabhadra of the inscription with a king of the name of Bhāgavata who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty. It is indeed possible that the name *Bhāgabhadra* has become corrupted into *Bhāgavata* and the date assigned by Mr. V. A. Smith to the Śuṅga king in question, namely circa 108 B. C. is not very far removed from that of Antialkidas. The word *Kāsīputa* has been read by Dr. Bloch as *Kōsīputa*. As the vowel mark of the first *akshara* is slightly damaged, both readings are admissible. But the reading *Kāsīputa*, meaning "the son of the Princess from Kāśi (*i.e.*, Benares)", seems to me to be preferable. Dr. Fleet has rightly pointed out that *Kōsīputa* cannot be very well derived from Sanskrit *Kautsīputra* which would yield a Prakrit form *Kōchhīputta*. According to a usage which has been prevalent in India from very remote times up to the present day, a queen is often not indicated by her personal name but by that of her native country. Examples are *Gāndhārī*, *Mādrī*, *Mādravatī*, *Kauśalyā* (from *Kośala*), *Kaikēyī* (from *Kēkaya*), *Vaidēhī* (*i.e.*, *Sītā*), *Vaidarbhī* (*i.e.*, *Damayantī*). Such names are again used in metronymic appellations, a well known example being *Ajātasattu Vēdēhīputtō* (Skr. *Ajātaśatrur Vaidēhīputraḥ*), as pointed out by Dr. Fleet. Another instance is *Mādravatīputra* for the two younger Pāṇḍavas, Nakula and Sahadēva.

Hēliodōros, the son of Diōn, by whom the pillar was set up calls himself a Bhāgavata and a Yōnadūta. The first of these two terms characterises him as a worshipper of the Lord (Skr. *Bhagavant*) Krishṇa. He erected the pillar in honour of this incarnation of Vishṇu and it probably bore the effigy of the Sun-bird Garuḍa, the

[1] P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pp. xxxiv ff.

vehicle of that deity. This may be inferred from the term "Garuḍa standard" (Skr. *Garuḍa-dhvaja*) by which the pillar is indicated in the inscription.[1] It will be remembered that the famous iron pillar of Old Delhi (Quṭb) is also described in its inscription as a "Standard" of the Lord Vishṇu (Skr. *Bhagavatō Vishṇōr dhvajaḥ*).[2]

The word which I read with Dr. Fleet and Mr. Bhandarkar *Yōnadūtēna* was first read in turn *yēna dāṁtēna* (Bloch), *yōnadātēna* (Fleet), and *yēna dūtēna* (Venis). The vowel-marks both of the first and the third *aksharas* are unfortunately broken, and the estampages do, therefore, allow us to adopt any of the four readings. It must, however, be admitted that *Yōnadūtēna* is by far preferable to the other readings as well from a grammatical point of view as in the light of the context. Hēliodōros was indeed a *Yōnadūta*—a *Yōna* (Skr. *Yavana*), *i. e.*, a Greek, as appears from his name, and a *dūta*, because he had come from the court of king Antialkidas.

As the inscription is clearly engraved and well preserved, the readings of the various scholars mentioned above differ but little, except in the seventh or last line. Dr. Fleet's first interpretation was based on the assumption that this seventh line was not the final portion of the inscription but that its concluding part, probably containing a date, was still concealed under the vermilion at the time when the first estampages were taken. But the further cleaning of the shaft has proved that the inscription consists of only seven lines. The state of the stone immediately beneath the legend puts beyond doubt that no further lines have been worn out or lost.

The first word of the last or seventh line is undoubtedly *vasēna*. The next word was read by Dr. Bloch *Chaṁḍadāsēna*. Mr. Venis read *chatudasēna* and Mr. Bhandarkar *Majhad[ē]sē na°*. The readings quoted above will show that great uncertainty prevails as regards the interpretation of the two *aksharas* immediately following the word *vasēna*. But they can be read *chatu°* and this reading undoubtedly yields an excellent sense. I, therefore, adopt Mr. Venis' interpretation *vasēna chatudasēna* meaning "in the fourteenth year."

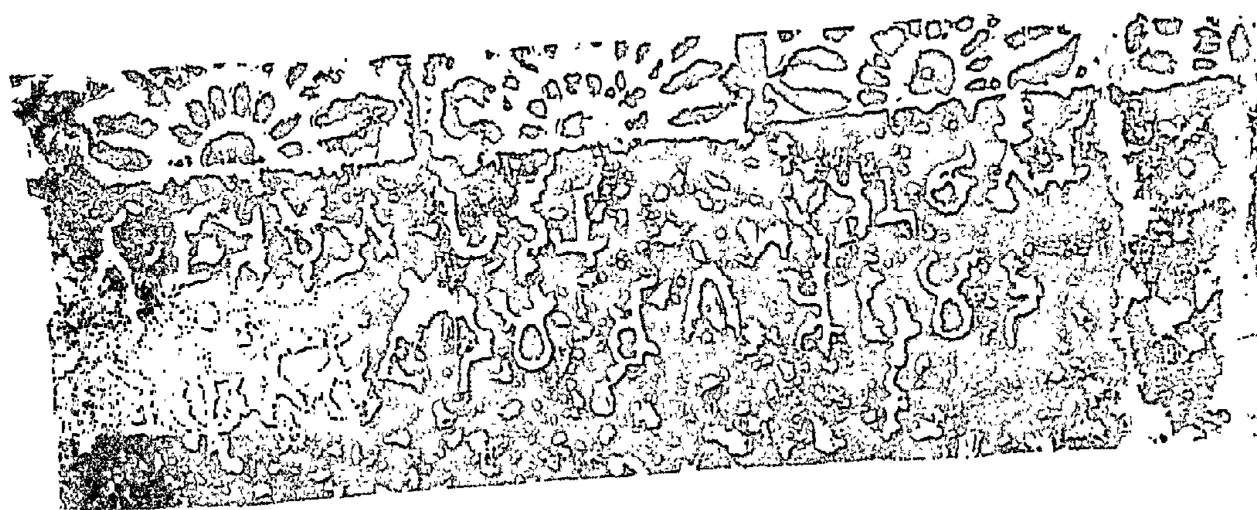
The following *rājēna* (Skr. *rājyē*) *vadhamānasa* indicates that the year mentioned before refers to the reign of king Kāsīputa Bhāgabhadra. The use of the instrumental instead of the locative case in *vasēna chatudasēna rājēna* is uncommon. But we may compare *Śukravārēṇa* for *Śukravārē* in the 27th line of the Chambā copper-plate inscription of Sōmavarman and Āsaṭa.[3] The word *vadhamānasa* at the end of the document is strange, but suggests some connection with the well known formula *pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē* found in later inscriptions. The following is the reading finally adopted by Dr. Fleet :—

TEXT A.

1. *Dēvadēvasa Vā[sudē]vasa Garuḍadhvajē ayaṁ*
2. *kāritē......Hēliōdōrēṇa Bhāga-*
3. *vatēna Diyasa putrēṇa Takhasilākēna*

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, plate XII.
[2] *Cf.* Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 139 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 8, and *A. S. R.* for 1902-03, p. 251.

BESNAGAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION.



4. *Yōnadūtēna āgatēna mahārājasa*
5. *Aṁtalikitasa upa[ṁ]tā sakāsa[ṁ] raño*
6. *Kāsīputasa Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa*
7. *vasēna chatudasēna rājēna vadhamānasa.*

Translation.

"This Garuḍa-standard was made by order of the Bhāgavata......Hēliodōros, the son of Diōn, a man of Taxila, a Greek ambassador from King Antialkidas, to King Bhāgabhadra, the son of the Princess from Benares, the saviour, while prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign."

On the other side of the pillar the following inscription is found :—

TEXT B.

1. *Trini amutapadāni......[pta] anuṭhitāni*
2. *nayaṁti svaga[ṁ] damō chāgō apramāda.*

Translation.

"Three are the steps to immortality which......followed lead to heaven, [namely] self-control, self-denial and watchfulness."

J. PH. VOGEL.

AN INSCRIBED SCULPTURE IN THE PĒSHĀWAR MUSEUM.

WITH the exception of one very small fragment from Jamālgaṛhī (the corner of some large piece), the only inscribed sculpture at present contained in the Pēshāwar Museum is the one reproduced in Plate XLVII.

It was presented by Mr. Wilson-Johnston, I.C.S., who states that its original findspot was a nullah near Yākubi, in the Swābi Tahsil. The upper portion of the sculpture and also the right hand side are lost, but even in its present condition the fragment is of fair size, measuring 1′-11″ by 1′-2″.

In the centre is a Buddha figure with hands in the *dharmachakra-mudrā*, seated on an upright lotus. The hair is treated in a peculiar manner, which might almost be looked upon as transitional between the usual naturalistic method and the little round ringlets of the canon. Both shoulders are draped, and both feet concealed. The edge of the stele is occupied by a number of divine figures (including apparently a figure of Mañjuśrī in the lower left hand corner), some of them represented as worshipping ; while at either side of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated is a small kneeling figure corresponding to the Nāgas similarly placed in the analogous composition from the Swāt Valley, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1] In a lower compartment, corresponding to the pedestal, as it were, is a further group showing a Bōdhisattva in the centre seated between two apparently royal figures, with one monk on the proper left and three *upāsikās* on the right. Evidently two other figures have been lost.[2]

It is below this compartment that the inscription is incised, in, for the most part, well formed Kharōshṭhī letters averaging $\frac{3}{4}''$ in height. The beginning of the epigraph is lost, but, it seems to have contained six letters at most, presumably a genitive. The left hand corner is also damaged, with the loss of probably three letters, while two others are incised above the break, forming to all appearances the conclusion of the epigraph.

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1903—4; plate LXVIII, fig. 7.

[2] According to M. Foucher (*J. A.* 1909, pp. 5 sqq.) the sculpture as a whole would represent the miracle of Śrāvastī, but this identification seems very doubtful to me. Nor does the inscription appear in any way to support this theory.

INSCRIBED GANDHARA SCULPTURE IN PESHAWAR MUSEUM.

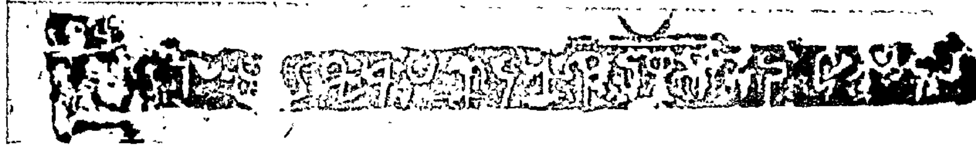


As it stands I would read it:

…………*danamukhe Sadhakamitrasha jinakumaro hidagramara.*

…………*rada.*

Of these letters the only doubtful ones, in *my* opinion, are the *tra* in what I



read as °*mitrasha* and the *va* before the break at the end. It is just possible that this may have been a *vu*, but *va* seems much more probable from an examination of the stone itself, as the depression to the left appears due to injury. The same might be said of the *gra*, but here I see no real doubt as to the reading. The *ka* is more distinctly traceable on the original. Of the other letters, the only ones calling for remark are the *ji* and the *ro*, both of which show forms not given in Bühler's table; but no doubt attaches to either. As for the *tra*, however, it must be acknowledged that the reading is hypothetical, for the lower end of the *akshara* is lost, and the original occurrence of a stroke to the right can only be conjectured.[1]

The left hand corner is an interesting puzzle. Assuming that the break is a fairly recent one, as it probably is, the epigraph has suffered the loss of three characters. What these were must remain uncertain, but if any restoration is permissible, I would propose to supply *sinaṁ va*. It is quite possible, however, that the stone was injured either before the inscription was begun (which is improbable; and in which case the writer would probably have spaced his letters differently), or while it was being inscribed; for it seems easy to read the existing letters as one word, °*varada* an epithet of the Buddha meaning "bestower of blessing." The sense thus remains essentially the same, whether we emend or not.

With these reservations, therefore, I would translate: "…… the gift of Sādhakamitra, this royal Buddha [to be] a source of blessing for this village, … *or*, for the people of this village."

The purport of the whole I take to be that Sādhakamitra, who was probably more closely characterized in the initial genitive word now lost, set up this image of the Buddha for the welfare of his village, or more specifically, for the people of his village, if the suggested °*vasinaṁ* is accepted. There is no trace of any dative form at the end, and the syllables *rada*, which I take to stand for *vārada*, whether or not connected intentionally with the *va* before the break, seem certainly to close the inscription.

As for the name Sādhakamitra[2] I have been unable to find any exact parallel,

[1] I should point out, however, that since the above was written the Government Epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya has expressed some doubt as to the *ka*, suggesting the possibility of its being *ja* instead; while Dr. Vogel questions both the *ka* and the *mi*, and suggests that the second superscript letter to the left should be read as *sa*. He would further propose to interpret *hida* not as equivalent of *iha* but as *hita*, taking the following *akshara* as *ga* instead of *gra*, *hidagama* being understood as *hitakāma*, But my own inspection of the original does not tend to support the readings, and I must leave my transcription for the present as above, although it is highly unsatisfactory to have so many letters under dispute.

[2] We may perhaps read *Sadharmamitrasha* which would correspond either to Skr. *Sa-Dharmamitrasya* or to *Saddharmamitrasya*.

and I advance the reading with some hesitation, particularly in view of the objections that have been raised to the *ka* and the *ṁi*. There does not seem, however, to be any inherent impossibility in the word as a name. It is true that no authority accessible to me authorizes the use of *Sādhaka* as a designation of the Buddha, which my reading would seem to imply; but Childers quotes the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* for the expression *Sabbasattānaṁ nibbāṇasādhaka*, which appears to make the proposed interpretation reasonable. And if the reading *vārada* is acceptable, it would seem to strengthen this hypothesis, for the particular blessing implied in the term is the blessing of *nirvāṇa*.

At first the *akshara sha*, which I take to stand for the genitive ending *sya*, appeared to me a further difficulty. The usual form in Kharōshṭhī is, of course, the simple *sa*, with an occasional *sya* retained, and I could find no instance of the change of *sya* to *sha*.[1] But Mr. Venkayya has very kindly drawn my attention to the form *piyashā* in the so-called Queen's Edict (l. 1) from the Allahabad pillar[2] and to the coin legend *Patalevasha*[3] so that the form may be unhesitatingly accepted, although not registered in the grammar. As the *akshara* is written, there can be no doubt that the lingual is intended.

A more serious difficulty lies in the word *Jinakumaro*, which I take to mean "Royal Buddha," and to refer to the sculpture itself. This interpretation, however, is so entirely unsupported by any parallel known to me that I advance it with great hesitation. Mr. Venkayya would see in the word the equivalent of the *jinaputto* of Pāli writings, and translate it as a "pious monk." But for syntactical reasons I fail to see how this is possible. The word is in the nominative, and if it is to refer to the donor, a genitive would appear an absolute necessity. If, as I understand, it is in apposition to *danamukhe*, as its case construction would seem to necessitate, it must refer to the image, and "Royal Buddha" is the only interpretation that suggests itself to me. Dr. Vogel doubts the propriety of such a designation for the Buddha subsequent to the Great Renunciation (*Mahābhinishkramaṇa*), and it must be confessed that it does appear both strange and unexpected. I put forth my own interpretation, therefore, tentatively, in order to render the epigraph accessible to scholars elsewhere. For I cannot pretend that the translation proposed is anything more than a first attempt. At any rate, be it observed, I see no possibility of combining the letters in such a way as to refer to the miracle of Śrāvastī, of which scene this composition would certainly be a very feeble representation.

It is a pity that both ends of the inscription are damaged, for it leaves a good deal open to conjecture; but this is unfortunately apt to be the case with Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in Gandhāra.

D. B. SPOONER.

[1] *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 315.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 125.
[3] V. A. Smith. *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 10.

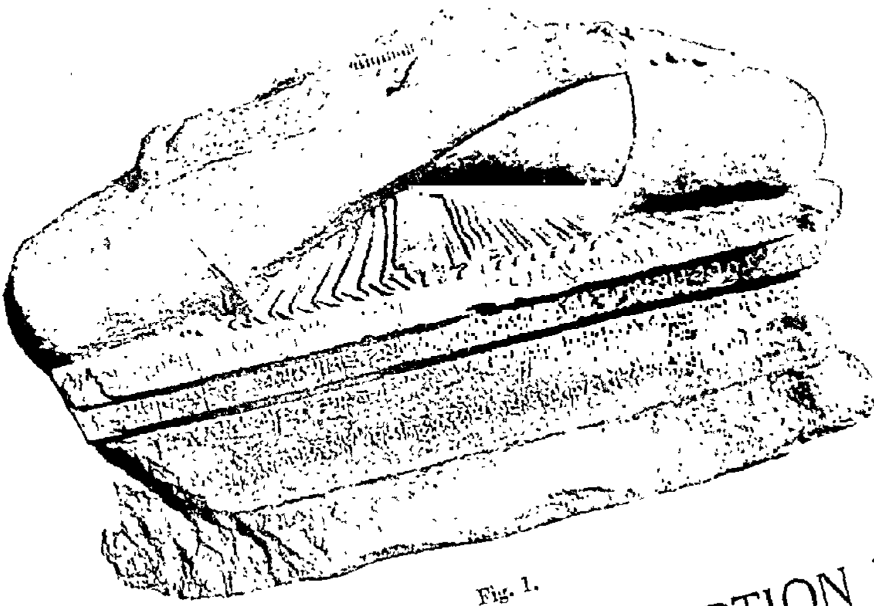


Fig. 1.

A BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM ŚRĀVASTI.

THE inscription on the colossal Bōdhisattva statue discovered by General Cunningham at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh in 1862-63 is too well known to require a detailed mention here.[1] The document which forms the subject of this paper is incised on the pedestal of an incomplete life-size Bōdhisattva statue which came to light at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh during the excavations carried out by Mr. Marshall with my assistance in the winter of 1908-09.[2] The sculpture itself is shown in the illustration at the head of this article. The front side of the pedestal on which the inscription is engraved is 2′ 8″ broad by 9″ high, and has a projection both at the top and at the base leaving a sunken panel in the middle. The upper projecting portion is again divided into two rims and it is on them and the sunken panel that the inscription is incised. The lower projection of the pedestal is blank and much mutilated.

The writing consists of four lines. The last line containing the Buddhist creed was added several centuries after the original record was carved, and it is only necessary to remark that it is composed in incorrect Sanskrit which exhibits several mistakes of grammar. *Hētun-tēshāṁ* is replaced by *hētus-tēshāṁ*. *Tathāgatō* appears as *Tathāgattō*. *Hyavadat* is written *hyavadaḥ*; and the *visarga* of *nirōdhaḥ* is retained before *ēva*, which, of course, stands for *ēvaṁ*. The date of this line, as judged from the characters used in it, is the 8th or 9th century A.D.

[1] It has been edited four times, but for a thorough discussion of its contents we refer the reader to two excellent articles published by Dr. Th. Bloch, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, 1898, p. 278, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 180.

[2] A full account of Mr. Marshall's exploration will appear in the next Annual.

The original inscription is contained in the upper three lines. It will be seen from a photograph of the sculpture published above that the pedestal is damaged more or less at both ends so that the first or topmost line is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end, while the other two lines have each lost a few syllables at the beginning. The remainder of the document is in a good state of preservation with the exception of the middle portion of the second line which is somewhat defaced. The engraving is excellent in the first line but hasty and unmethodical in the rest. The height of the *aksharas* without superscribed or subscribed strokes or letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}''$ to $\frac{1}{2}''$. The compound *aksharas* (*saṁyukta-varṇas*) are $\frac{5}{8}''$ to $\frac{7}{8}''$ high. A few *aksharas* in the third line are $1''$ to $1\frac{1}{4}''$ high.

The inscription is not dated, but its age can be approximately estimated from the style of its characters. They exhibit a certain degree of similarity to the alphabet used in the inscriptions on the Śrāvastī Bōdhisattva referred to above and the similar statue at Sārnāth, which are the earliest records of the reign of Kanishka yet found. It might, therefore, at first sight be supposed that the present inscription is contemporaneous with those mentioned above. A closer examination, however, of the alphabet used reveals features which decidedly point to a somewhat earlier date. For instance, the *ya* which occurs throughout in its full tripartite form, both alone and in ligatures, is certainly more archaic than in the inscriptions of Kanishka. It is rounded at both ends, whereas in the inscriptions of Kanishka's reign it is angular.[1] The *śa* also shows only the archaic form, such as we find in the inscriptions of Śōḍāsa in which the cross-bar has not yet taken the place of the slanting middle stroke.[2] Above all this we notice that the post-consonantic *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are generally represented by horizontal strokes as in pre-Kushaṇa inscriptions and not by slanting strokes.[3] All these peculiarities are presented in a striking manner by nine Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and, although none of them contains a date or a king's name, they have all been ascribed on palæographic grounds to the period before the reign of Kanishka.[4] To this period I would assign the inscription under discussion.[5] How much earlier than the accession of Kanishka it is, is impossible to decide in the absence of any Brāhmī documents of the time of Kanishka's predecessors Kadphises I and Kadphises II.

The language of the inscription, as is usual with the documents of this period, is neither pure Prākrit nor pure Sanskrit but a mixture of both. This dialect has been discussed at some length by Dr. Bühler.[6] Here it is only necessary to refer to some of its principal characteristics as exhibited by this inscription. The case

[1] The *h* in *bōhisatvā* (l. 1) and *bōhīsatva* (l. 3) is not met with anywhere else. It shows a curve at the base which opens to the right. As the Gupta *h* of the eastern variety shows a similar curve opening to the left, it may be assumed that the latter is derived from this form.

[2] The correctness of this statement will appear from the fact that not one of the many Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā of the time of Kanishka and his successors which have been published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. I and II, shows a single example of the *śa* without the cross-bar.

[3] I have adopted this suggestion from Dr. Vogel's article on the Sārnāth inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 175) where he has clearly set forth the main points of difference between the Kshatrapa and early Kushaṇa scripts.

[4] Seven of these were published in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, pp. 19 ff., where they are referred to as inscriptions Nos. IV to X. The other two are cut on two sculptures described as J 7 and Q2 in Dr. Vogel's *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, pp. 143 f. and 184 ff.

[5] In favour of this conclusion it may be pointed out that the inscription does not contain the name of Kanishka or any of his successors, whereas it is seldom wanting in important inscriptions of the time of these rulers.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 373 ff.

terminations are of both types, but Prākritic forms are more frequent. Out of three instances of the genitive singular of an *a* stem we find twice the Sanskrit ending *sya* and once the Prākrit *sa* (for *ssa*). The genitive plural is Prākritic in three instances characterized by the shortening of the *ā* of *āṁ*. *Bhrātṛiṇāṁ, kshatriya*(*ā*)-*nā*[*ṁ*] and *bhōgānāṁ*, however, have the Sanskrit termination. The instrumental in -*ēna* occurs in three words *Māthurēna, śēlarūpakārēna* and *Śivamitrēna* and is in all of them of the Prākrit type. This is evidenced by the fact that although all these nouns end in *ra* the dental *na* of the termination is not changed to the cerebral *ṇa*.

Among consonantal groups, *ksha* occurs twice—*kshatriyanāṁ* and *vichakshaṇā*—in both of which it retains the Sanskrit form. Ligatures with *r* as the first or last component remain unaltered in five instances, but the *r* is omitted in *pujathaṁ* (Skt. *pūjārthaṁ* ; Pkt. *pūjatthaṁ*), *sava* (l. 2, Pkt. *savva*) and *hitathaṁ* (l. 2, Pkt. *hitatthaṁ*). The word *puraskṛicha* (l. 2, Skt. *puraskṛitya*) shows a double influence of Sanskrit, first in the retention of the dissimilar consonants *s* and *k* and again in the use of the termination *tya* instead of *tvā*. The Pali form of this word is *purakkhatvā*.

In the matter of spelling I have to notice the substitution of the long *ī* for the short *i* in *Śīvadharasya* (l. 1), *d*[*ē*]*ṁtī* (l. 2), *vīchakshaṇā* (l. 2), *jīvītasa* (l. 3) and *bōhīsatva* (l. 3). Similarly the long *ū* takes the place of the short *u* in *sarva-Būdhānaṁ* (l. 2). The omission of the *anusvāra* and of vowels in some cases will be observed in the transcript. *Dhamanāṁda* is obviously a mistake for *Dhamānaṁda* (Skt. Dharmānaṁda). The substitution of *h* for *dh* in *bōhisatvā* (l. 1) and *bōhīsatva* (l. 3) was apparently due to vernacular influence.[1] This form is, however, not met with anywhere else.

TEXT.

L. 1. ......*sya Śīvadharasya cha bhrātṛiṇā*[*ṁ**] *kshatriyanā*[*ṁ**] *Vēlishṭānaṁ Dhamanāṁda-putrānaṁ dānaṁ Śrāvāsta-Jētāvanē Bōhisatvā Mathurā-*[*vā*]......

L. 2. ......*tā sarva-Būdhānaṁ pujathaṁ mātā-pritī puraskṛicha sava-satva-hitathaṁ cha d*[*ē**]*ṁtī satha-vīchakshaṇā asarākā cha bhōgānāṁ*

L. 3. *jīvītasa cha sērāmiya-kuśalā bhuyakuśalam-achīni M*[*ā**]*thurēna śēla-rupakārēna Ś*[*i**]*vamitrēna Bōhīsatva kṛitā.*

Remarks.

L. 1. *Vēlishṭānaṁ.* I read it as *Valishṭānaṁ*, which I thought stood for the Sanskrit *balishṭhānāṁ* (superlative from *balin*=powerful). The reading *Vēlishṭānaṁ* I owe to the kindness of the late Dr. Th. Bloch who was of opinion that *Vēlishṭa* was an adjective from *Vilishṭā* (?), a place or district from which the donors of the image came. This interpretation is very plausible, though it must be admitted that no locality of this name is known from any other source.

L. 1. *Śrāvāsta-Jētāvanē.* The first word stands obviously for *Śrāvāstya* the adjective form of *Śrāvastī*. The lengthening of *a* in the second syllable of *Jētāvanē* is due to the carelessness of the engraver. Or perhaps the name was pronounced as such.

[1] Cf. *badhū* (Hindi *bahū*), *dadhi* (Hindi *dahi*) etc.

L. 1. *Mathurā-vā....* Here we evidently had a compound word with *Mathurā* as the first component. Of the second component only the first syllable *vā* is extant. The restoration is made still more difficult by the fact that the following word is also entirely broken away with the exception of its final syllable *tā* which survives in the beginning of the second line. It is, therefore, only possible to offer a conjectural reading. I am inclined to think that it may originally have been *Mathurā-vā-[stavyaiḥ pratishṭhāpi]tā,* an independent clause, in which *Mathurā-vāstavyaiḥ* refers to the donors of the statue. It would then have to be supposed that the donors, though they belonged to some place named Vilishṭā, were actually residing in Mathurā at the time when they travelled to Śrāvastī in order to present this statue at the famous Jētavana.

L. 2. *Mātā-pritī.* The vowel in the last syllable of *pritī* is doubtful owing to the disintegration of the surface of the stone. There is no doubt, however, that the compound stands for the Sanskrit *mātāpitarau.*

L. 2. *D[ē*]ṁtī.* This form is evidently meant for *dēṁti,* regular Pali present third person plural of *dā* "to give." The subject of this verb is not indicated, but there can hardly be any doubt about it.

L. 2. *Satha-vīchakshaṇā.*[1] The first syllable of *satha* is obliterated. The reading *satha* I owe to the late Dr. Bloch, who rightly concluded that it is the same as the Pali *sattha* in the sense of the doctrine taught by the Buddha. *Satthā* (Skt. *Śāstā*) "a teacher," is one of the epithets by which Gautama Buddha is spoken of in the commentaries.[2]

L. 2. *Asarākā cha bhōgānāṁ. Asarākā* stands apparently for the Sanskrit *asāratāṁ.* The unreality of worldly things is frequently dwelt upon in Buddhist literature.[3] The missing portion of the third line contained some word like *viditvā* which governed *asāratāṁ* and *sērāṁ* in the following line.

L. 3. *Jīvītasa cha sērāṁ.* The last word is very difficult to interpret. We evidently want here some word to correspond in meaning to the *asāratāṁ* of the preceding line. The nearest approach in Sanskrit would seem to be *svairitāṁ* (Pali *sēritāṁ*) which originally means independence, wilfulness, the power to go where one likes, and thence, fickleness or unstability. The donors knew the pleasures of the world to be unreal and life to be unstable and, therefore, devoted themselves to meritorious acts.

L. 3. *Iya-kuśalā bhuya-kuśalam.* The word *iya* is probably the same as the *ia* of the Asoka edicts and *bhuya* corresponds to the *paratra* of those documents.[4] The Sanskrit word corresponding to *bhuya,* as suggested by the late Dr. Bloch, is *bhāvya.*

L. 2. *Achīni.* This is probably derived from the root *ā-chi,* to heap up or to accumulate.[5]

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[1] Cf. *Atthānatthavichakkhaṇō* in *Mahāwanso* (ed. Turnour), p. 169.

[2] Fausböll. *Dhammapadam,* pp 181 and 353.

[3] Cf. *Mahāwanso* (ed. Turnour), p. 224 *asārēhi dhanēhi.*

[4] Cf. *Ia cha sukhayami paratra cha spagaṁ aradhetu. Ep. Ind.,* vol. II, p. 455.

[5] Cf. *Mahāwanso* (ed. Turnour), p 124, *gunappiyō yāvaj-jīwantu nekānī puññakammānī āchinī* which is rendered by "delighting in the exercise of his benevolence, during the whole of his life, realized for himself manifold blessings."

SAHETH BODHISATTVA IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS.

b.

Translation.

"A Bōdhisattva [has been set up] in the Jētavana of Śrāvastī [as a] gift of... and Śivadhara, Kshatriya brothers[1] from Vilishṭā (?) and sons of Dharmānanda, [residents of] Mathurā. [Being] versed in the scriptures and [knowing] the unreality of pleasures and the unstability of life, [they, *i. e.*, the Kshatriya brothers referred to] give [this Bōdhisattva] in honour of all the Buddhas, for the welfare of all living beings with special regard to their parents, and accumulate merit for this world and merit for the next. [This] Bōdhisattva was made by Śivamitra a sculptor of Mathurā."

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the Bōdhisattva statue on which it is inscribed by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. The name of only one of them remains in the inscription and it is not known whether there were one or more names contained in the portion broken away in the beginning of the first line. The plural number of the forms *kshatriyanāṁ, bhrātṛiṇāṁ* and *Vēlishṭānaṁ* would tend to show that the donors were more than two. If, however, we assume that the writer of the document followed the Prākrit grammar which does not recognize the dual number (*dvi-vachana*), it may be supposed that the *Bōdhisattva* was the common gift of only two brothers, one of whom was named Śivadhara. The latter supposition receives some support from the fact that the missing portion could have furnished space for only one name.

It might appear strange at first sight to find a Buddhist devotee call himself by a name (Śivadhara) which suggests a connection with a rival sect. Instances, however, are not wanting of Jaina devotees bearing names which contain the name of Śiva. Such names occur in several Jaina inscriptions[2] of the Kushaṇa and earlier periods and it may be correctly assumed that the early centuries of the Christian era had not yet developed that spirit of antagonism between the sects which characterized the later periods.

It has been assumed in the translation that the gift of the Kshatriya brothers consisted of a single Bōdhisattva image. It must, however, be noted that in line 1 the noun Bōdhisattva is used in the plural form *Bōdhisattvā*. So also is the passive past participle *kṛitā* in the third line. It was, therefore, at first supposed that this Bōdhisattva was only one of a number of such statues that were presented by Śivadhara and his brother or brothers, and that the remainder were still buried somewhere on the site. This assumption has, however, been given up in view of the fact that the noun Bōdhisattva is used in the third line in its base form without any case ending and it is possible that the plural termination in the instance quoted above may have been only accidental or due to a clerical error.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies further authentic evidence in support of the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī. This question has been fully discussed by Mr. Marshall elsewhere[3] and it is needless

[1] For this construction cf. *Givasēnasya Dēvasēnasya Śivasēnasya cha bhrātṛiṇaṁ mātū* "mother of the brothers, Gīvasēna, Dēvasēna and Śivasēna" *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 208, No. XXXIV.

[2] *Cf.* Dēvasēna, Śivadēva and Śivadata (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 208) and Śivadāsa (*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 32, No. 9).

[3] *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, pp. 1066 ff. *Cf.* also my note on the Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh copper-plate of Gōvindachandra in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI., pp. 20 ff.

to reiterate here all that has been said there. This identification is now a settled fact and there can no longer subsist any doubt about it.

Another point of considerable importance connected with this inscription is the light which it throws on the history of the Mathurā school of sculpture. Dr. Vogel has devoted a chapter to this subject in his catalogue of the Mathurā Museum where he has traced its history from the time of the Mauryas downwards and shown that the sculptors of Mathurā did not work for the embellishment of the monuments of that town alone. They also supplied Buddhist sculptures to various parts of northern India. The best known examples of this class of sculptures—as Dr. Vogel has pointed out—are the colossal Bōdhisattva statue erected at Sārnāth in the third year of Kanishka's reign, the colossal Bōdhisattva statue found at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh by General Cunningham, a post-Kushaṇa image of Bōdh-Gayā [1] now in the Calcutta Museum, the famous Nirvāṇa statue of Kasiā and another statuette of the Gupta period which Dr. Vogel discovered at Kasiā in 1906-07. Now, it will be seen that it is only the last two which are definitely stated in their inscriptions to have been manufactured by a sculptor of Mathurā (*Pratimā chēyaṁ ghaṭitā Dinnēna Māthurēṇa* on the Nirvāṇa statue and *Kṛiti*[*r*]-*Dinnasya* on the statuette).[2] The other three as well as many others scattered all over northern India were chiefly recognized as productions of Mathurā artisans, by their material which is the red spotted sandstone of Sikri, and the style of their workmanship. Dinna of the Gupta period was hitherto the only sculptor of Mathurā whose name had come down to us. The present inscription is, therefore, highly interesting inasmuch as it supplies the name of another master of that school who flourished before the time of Kanishka. This fact is also of particular importance, for it shows that the superiority of the workmen of Mathurā over the isolated manufacturers of other places was admitted already in the period anterior to that of this reputed patron of Indian art. The name of this new sculptor was Śivamitra and in the inscription he is called a *śēla-rupakāra*[3] (Skt. *śailarūpakāra*) meaning "a maker of stone images."

DAYA RAM SAHNI.

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[1] *Mahabodhi*, pp. 53f. and plate XXV.

[2] *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, pp. 49-f. In the Nirvāṇa image inscription the second *akshara* of *Māthurēṇa* is doubtful.

[3] *Cf. Kathāsarit-sāgara, taraṅga* 37, verses 8-9.

अथागाच्चित्रकृत्तेन यथा रूपकृता सह ॥ स स्तम्भं वीक्ष्य सुभगे तत्र गौरीं समालिखत् । रूपकारोऽपि शस्त्रेण क्रोडयेवो-ल्लिखताम् ॥

In these verses the painter is called a *chitrakṛit* and the engraver or sculptor a *rūpakāra*. The *chitrakṛit* drew (*samālikhat*) the figure of Gaurī on the column, while the *rūpakāra* did the engraving (*ullilēkha*) with his tool.

NOTES ON BŌDH GAYĀ.

I.—THE BŌDHI TREE.

IT might almost be called an irony of fate, that one of the most ancient and most sacred objects of religious worship in India, I mean the Bōdhi Tree at Bōdh Gayā[1], is a *pīpal* tree (*ficus*[2] *religiosa*), the eternal enemy of the Archæological Department in India, so far as its labours are concerned with the conservation of ancient monuments. However, it is open to doubt if this sacred tree, or any offshoot of the old tree even, would still have survived up to the present day, but for the fact that it belongs to that *gens aeterna* of the Indian Flora, called *pippala* or *aśvattha*, in Sanskrit.

For tradition and history both tell us that its existence has not always been so peaceful and undisturbed as it is in our present time. So far as Muhammadan

[1] I have adopted this form of the name, which seems to be better known at present, than *Budh Gayā*. Both words probably are not older than the time of the adaptation of Bōdh Gayā by the Vaishṇavas as one of their sacred places. For *Budh Gayā* certainly must be explained as "The Gayā of the *Buddha-avatāra* of Vishṇu," and likewise *Bōdh Gayā* probably means "the Gayā of the *Bōdhi* Tree incarnation of Vishṇu"; see later on. I prefer this explanation of the word to another which one sometimes hears now-a-days, *i. e.*, *Bōdh Gayā* is occasionally explained as a contraction of Skt. *Bauddha-Gayā*, "the Gayā of the Buddhists" in opposition to the well-known name *Brahma-Gayā*, "the Gayā of Brahman" by which the present city of Gayā is still called. The word *Mahābōdhi*, which Cunningham selected in his well-known publication. certainly occurs as a local name in the inscription of the time of Dharmapāla (Cunningham, *l. c.*, p. 3), while in a later inscription it refers to the Bōdhi Tree (see below, p. 33, note 2). I have, however, never heard it used at the present time and, for this reason, it appears to me somewhat doubtful, if Cunningham really was justified in selecting it. He certainly erred in explaining the words:—*Bhagavatō Sakamuninō bōdhō* (this is the correct reading of the inscription not *bōdhi*, as Cunningham gives it) in the Barāhat bas-relief as "the Bōdhi [Tree] of the divine Śākya Muni" (*l. c.*, p. 3). This rilievo does not pretend to give a general representation of the Bōdhi Tree at Bodh Gayā. It is evident that the artist intended to show "the attainment of supreme wisdom" (*bōdhi* or *bōdhō*, as he chose to call it) "by the holy Śākyamuni," whose presence in this scene is merely indicated by the sacred throne, the *bōdhimaṇḍa* or *vajrāsana*. The word *bōdhō* in the inscription should not be corrected into *bōdhi*, as we have it in the similar rilievos of the *bōdhi* of Vipaśyin, Viśvabhū, etc. (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate XXIX). Both words are synonymous, meaning "wisdom, knowledge, enlightenment, etc." I may add, that in a modern inscription at Māltaṅgī, close to Bōdh Gayā, I have found one of the previous Mahanths of Bōdh Gayā, *Hēma-Nārāyaṇo Giriḥ*, described as:—*Vō(Bō)dhi-druma-Gayā-sthān-ādhipatiḥ*.

[2] The author of the Nidānakathā (see *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translated by Rhys Davids, Vol. I. p. 91, and *passim*) calls the tree a Nigrōdha tree (*ficus Indica*), and the same error occurs likewise in other Pali texts and has sometimes been adopted by modern European writers. It is, however, perfectly clear from the ancient rilievo at Barāhat, referred to above, that already in the 2nd century B. C. the tree was a *pippala* or *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*), and not a *vaṭa*, or *nyagrōdha*: (*ficus Indica*) *nigrōdha*, as it is called by the Pali authors, whose actual knowledge of the sacred tree evidently was derived from secondary sources only.

T 2

invaders were concerned, no serious damage appears to have occurred to the Bōdhi Tree. The object which led those wild sons of the Central Asian desert to the destruction and desecration of so many a famous temple in India was not only religious zeal. I am afraid we should be overestimating them, if we did not admit that a certain delight in plunder may have helped to swell the army of Bakhtiyār Khilji when he made his first inroad into Bihār and Bengal, towards the close of the 12th century A.D. We know that he plundered and destroyed the famous monastery of Uddaṇḍapura, the present Bihār; but although the journey from there to Bōdh Gayā is not more than fifty miles, he did not proceed further, for the simple reason that a *pīpal* tree certainly was no object worth "looting."

It sounds almost like a fable, if we read in Hiuen Tsiang's *Si-yu-ki*[1] of Aśōka and his queen, "making determined efforts to destroy the Bōdhi Tree, the attempts being in each case frustrated." May we really charge Aśōka with this foul act? I think we have good reason in answering the question in the affirmative. As I shall show later on, no remains whatever have been brought to light so far in Bōdh Gayā, which might be ascribed to Aśōka, and if we remember the religious teaching which he gave in several of his edicts, we can certainly not be surprised at finding him in overt enmity with the "tree worship," which in his time already was carried on successfully by the Buddhists at Bōdh Gayā. I refer especially to the ninth Rock Edict. It is evident that the worship of a sacred tree must have been included among those "despicable and useless rites,"[2] which are "unproductive of any results" (*apaphala*), and should be avoided. And, if we remember that Aśōka's character at times showed signs of a certain harshness of temper, *e.g.*, during his expedition against Kaliṅga, it cannot surprise us to see, how, in one important instance at least, Aśōka did not hesitate to give his subjects a practical lesson of the earnestness of his moral and religious teaching.

The second attempt to destroy the sacred Bōdhi Tree may certainly be called true history. It must have occurred only a short time before Hiuen Tsiang's visit, who tells us the story,[3] and the memory of it must have been quite fresh in the minds of the faithful, when Hiuen Tsiang was at Bōdh Gayā. This is what he tells us:— "In recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bōdhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Pūrṇavarma, the last descendant of Aśōka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became above ten feet high."

Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Bōdh Gayā probably occurred in A.D. 637,[4] while the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619-20) is the established date of the Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja, the king of Karṇasuvarṇa or Western Bengal[5] whom Hiuen Tsiang also mentions as the murderer of Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Ṭhāṇēsar (*Sthāṇvīśvara*). But although Hiuen Tsiang's

[1] Watters, Vol. II., p. 115. I look upon the second attempt to destroy the Bōdhi Tree, which was made by Aśōka's queen, Tishyarakshitā, as a story, invented later on, in order to exculpate Aśōka.

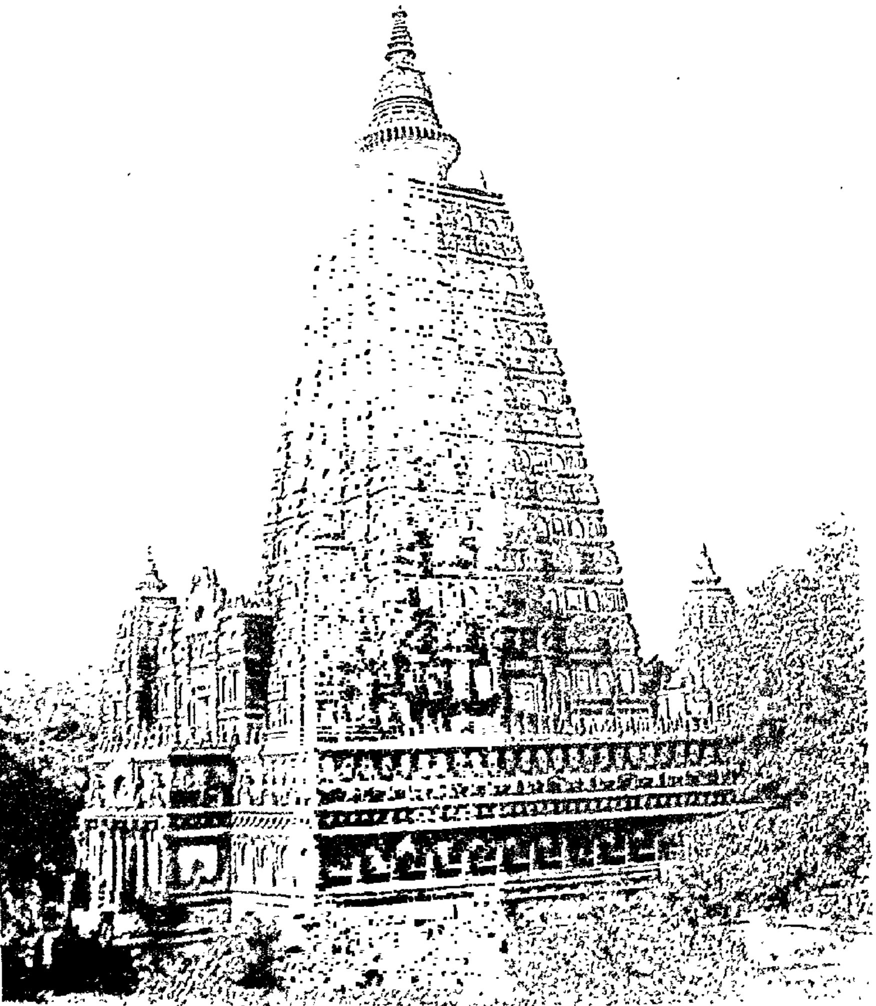
[2] Girnar, IX, 3. *chhudaṁ cha nirathaṁ cha maṁgalaṁ.*

[3] Watters, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

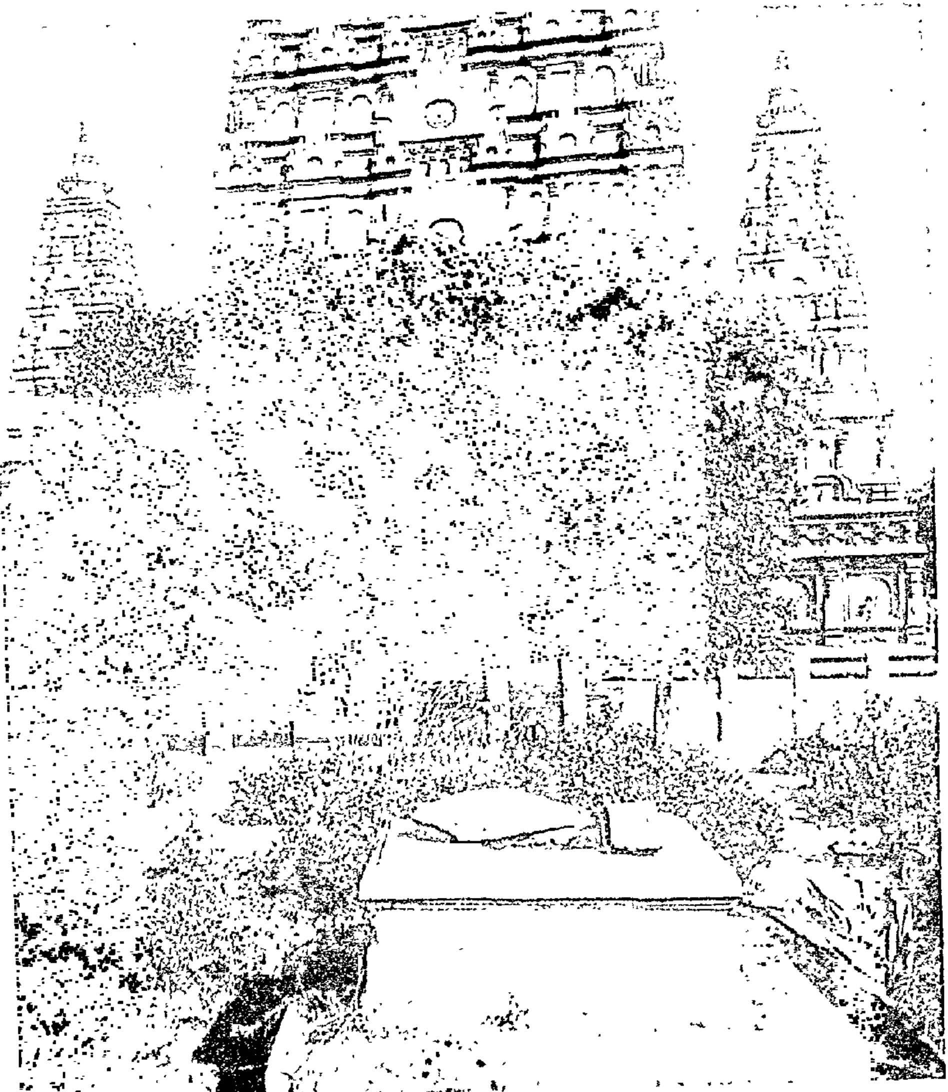
[4] Watters, *loc. cit.*, p. 335.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 143.

PLATE XLIX.



TEMPLE FROM NORTH-EAST.



BODHI TREE, WEST OF TEMPLE.

words would naturally lead us to look upon Śaśāṅka's action as directed against Buddhism, I venture to think that the facts, so far as we know them, may yet be construed in a somewhat different way. It is certainly remarkable that immediately after the destruction of the sacred tree by Śaśāṅka, the king of Magadha, Pūrṇavarman by name, tried to revive it again. His name, Pūrṇavarman, does not suggest that he was a Buddhist; on the contrary, its formation with *varman* is in strict accordance with the rules laid down in the Gṛihya and Dharma-sūtras in regard to the names for Kshatriyas, and, moreover, we meet at that time with a number of kings ruling over southern Magadha and its adjacent countries, whose names are formed in exactly the same manner, and whom we know for certain not to have been Buddhists.

I refer to the Maukhari dynasty, whose existence at or near Bōdh Gayā can already be traced back to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.[1], and whose rule over the country around Bōdh Gayā during the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. is well known to us from inscriptions[2] and literary works.

Their wars with the later Gupta kings of Magadha, *viz.*, Kumāragupta, Dāmōdaragupta, and Mahāsēnagupta, are expressly mentioned in the Aphsad Inscription of Ādityasēna[3] and it is evident that Southern Magadha, at that time, must often have changed hands between the scions of the Imperial Gupta family and the Maukhari clan of Rājpūts. To the king of Magadha, Bōdh Gayā naturally formed a considerable source of income. According to ancient Indian law the king was entitled to a certain share of the revenue of each temple or sacred place of pilgrimage in his dominions, a custom which still exists, and to which such specimens of royalty as the present Raja of Puri, the hereditary custodian of the temple of Jagannāth, owe their existence. Without the sacred Bōdhi Tree, Bōdh Gayā would have been like Mecca without the Ka'ba, and Śaśāṅka's attempt to destroy the tree was certainly a well planned act against his rival king, Pūrṇavarman of Magadha, quite in accordance with the rules of the Indian Nītiśāstra or Doctrine of Policy. But, however much Śaśāṅka's memory has been blackened by Hiuen Tsiang, we have certainly not the slightest right to call him an enemy of Buddhism, because he attempted to destroy the sacred Bōdhi Tree at Bōdh Gayā.

The worship of the sacred *pīpal* tree at Bōdh Gayā can be traced back to very ancient times, and I feel perfectly convinced that the Buddhists selected this tree as a sacred object of their religion merely on account of its previous sanctity, and not for any special reason connected with the spiritual career of their deified teacher. By saying this, I do not in the least intend to doubt the main facts of that great mental change called *bōdhi* or 'enlightenment,' which occurred to Buddha after years of severe struggle and painful austerities.

Neither do I question that part of the Buddhist tradition, which tells us that this great event happened at Uruvēlā, or Bōdh Gayā, in the ancient country of Magadha on the border of the Nērañjarā river, the present Līlājan, or Phalgū.

[1] See the interesting clay seal with the inscription: *Mōkhaliśa i.e. Maukharēḥ* "[seal] of the Maukhari" published by Cunningham, *Maha-Bodhi*, plate XXIV, 1. Note that the language of this inscription is pure Māgadhī with *l* for *r*, and *ś* for *s*.

[2] See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 47-50, pp. 219 ff.

[3] Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 208.

However, I cannot help feeling reluctant to believe that Buddha really should have pointed to a *pīpal* tree as the very spot where this important event had occurred to him, and this feeling of mine is again strengthened by taking into consideration the traditional history of the *bōdhi*, as known to us from Buddhist literature. I refer to the story of Sujātā, the wife of the *Sēnāpati* of Uruvēlā, and the first meal offered by her to Buddha after the *bōdhi*.[1]

The story is too well known to be repeated here in detail. The main point is that Sujātā had vowed to spend every year a hundred thousand on an offering to the sacred Nigrōdha tree in the village of Uruvēlā, if she was married into a family of equal rank, and had a son for her first-born child.[2] Her prayer had been granted and "on the full-moon day of the month of May,[3] in the sixth year of the Great Being's penance," she was preparing to make the offering.

She sent her slave-girl Puṇṇā[4] ahead, who beheld the Bōdhisattva seated under the tree and returned immediately filled with joy, in order to tell her mistress that the Tree-spirit had appeared in person to accept the offering. It thus happened that Buddha was provided with his first meal after the *bōdhi*.

I am aware of the fact that this story is known to us so far only from a literary work of comparatively late age, the Nidānakathā, and that for this reason the use which I have tried to make of it as an instance of pre-Buddhist worship of the Bōdhi Tree at Bōdh Gayā may be questioned. However, I think that in support of what I have said above, I may point to two interesting rilievos from the ancient railing at Bōdh Gayā, of which I very much regret not to be able to publish an illustration along with this article. The pillars containing those two rilievos are neither at Bōdh Gayā, nor in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and it appears to me not unlikely that they may have been among the "three taken to Kensington," of which I find an occasional mention made by Cunningham.[5] I must, for this reason,

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[1] *Nidānakathā*, in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translated by Rhys Davids, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff.

[2] Similar instances of the very ancient belief of a tree granting offspring to women are abundantly met with in Indian and Oriental literature. I need only refer to the symbolical custom of marrying a creeper to a tree, *e.g.* the *Mādhavī-latā* to the *Aśōka-vṛiksha*, which plays such an important part in many a Sanskrit drama and of which we may, perhaps, recognize some kind of survival in the modern Indian custom of marrying the *tulsī* plant to the *śāligrām*. In the dramas, the heroine generally performs this act, in order to show to the king, how the tree suddenly has burst into red flowers on being touched by the creeper, a gentle hint, which the king, as a rule, does not fail to understand. As an instance from Pali literature, I may refer to the story of the *Hatthipāla-Jātaka*, which tells us of a number of children, born through the help of a "goddess living in a certain *nigrōdha* tree" (*nigrōdhē adhivattha dēvatā*) near Benares (see *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, Vol. IV, p. 474). Even in Sa'dī's, *Gulistān* we meet with the same popular belief; see 6th Book, 3rd Tale. The story was told to Sa'dī by an old man, whose guest he was in Diarbekr. The old gentleman afterwards had good reason to resent the boon conferred by the sacred tree at Diarbekr; for the son, born to him through the miraculous power of the tree, intended to take his father's life, after he had grown up, in order to inherit his fortune.

[3] In modern India, the custom of tying coloured threads to a sacred tree is largely observed by married women praying for male children. It is now called: *chillā bāndhnā* lit: 'to tie threads.' Some of those sacred trees which I have seen in Bengal, looked almost like Christmas trees. [3] In Pāli *Visākha-puṇṇamā-divasē*.

[4] The name *Puṇṇā*—(Skt. *Pūrṇā*) suggests that this girl was born on a full-moon day. Similar names are still in very common use among the people of Northern India. As one instance, among many, I may mention the name of the late Babu P. C. Mukherji, familiar, perhaps, to a number of readers of this article. The first part of his name, *Pūrna-Chandra*, probably was chosen, because he was born on a full-moon day, like Puṇṇā, the slave-girl of Sujātā.

[5] *Mahabodhi*, p. 22. The pillars "still in the Mahant's dwelling," which Cunningham mentions in this connection, have now all been returned to Bōdh Gayā, at the instance of Lord Curzon, and mainly through the kind offices of Mr. F. W. Duke, I.C.S., some time Collector of Gayā, without whose gentle persuasion the Mahanth probably never would have fulfilled his promise.



VAJRASANA BELOW BODHI TREE.



PIPPAL TREE NORTH OF TEMPLE.

refer my readers to the illustrations published by Cunningham, *l. c.* Plate VIII, Nos. 4 and 5, which are too flat to yield any result if reproduced by photography. The second rilievo, No. 5, probably represents Sujātā kneeling in front of the sacred tree at Uruvēlā. The stone seat under the tree indicates that Buddha himself is seated there. The high wall, with a double row of pinnacles, may certainly be taken as representing the enclosing walls, which already at that time surrounded the sacred area, and which, as Hiuen Tsiang[1] tells us, were "built of bricks, high and strong; the enclosure was long from east to west, and narrow from north to south, and it was above 500 paces in circuit." The figure of a *Kinnara*, holding a garland, which is seen in the upper part of the rilievo, to the left of the sacred tree, is quite in accordance with the usual representations of the life of Buddha in ancient Indian art.

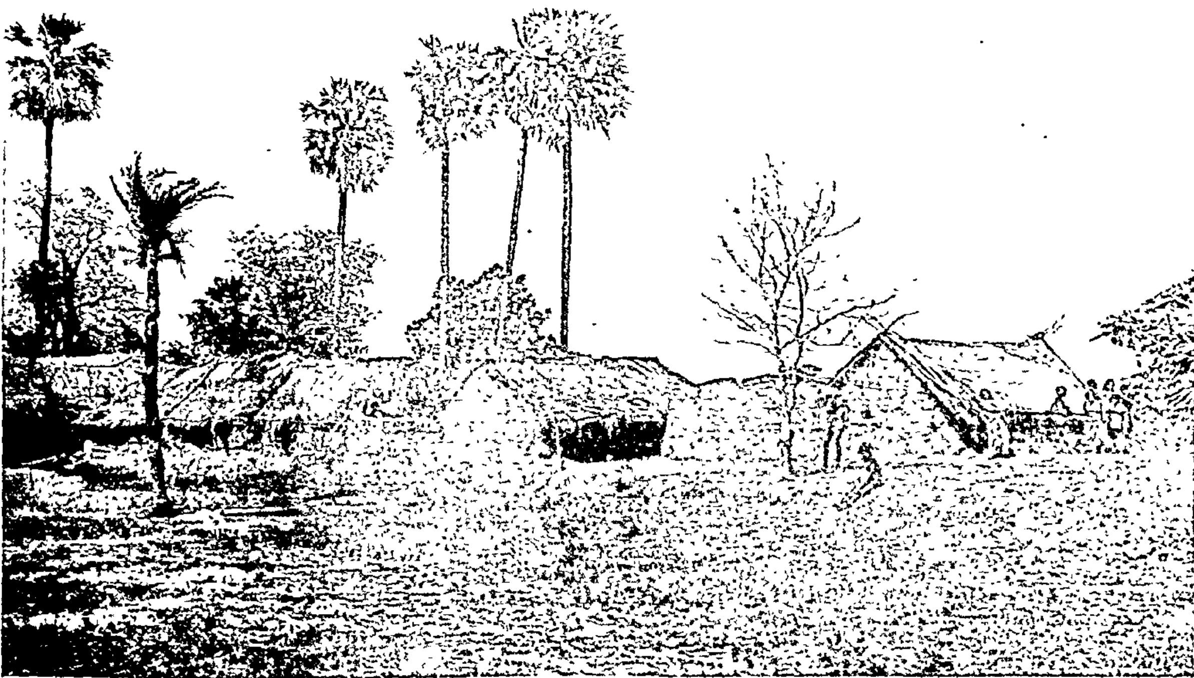


Fig. 1.

The modern village of Urēl, the ancient Uruvēlā near Bōdh Gayā.

The first rilievo, No. 4, represents the first meal given to Buddha after the *Bōdhi*. The presence of Buddha is indicated by the square stone seat in the centre of the upper part of the rilievo. It is, however, remarkable that in this rilievo neither Sujātā, nor Puṇṇā, provides the meal for Buddha, but the Tree-spirit (*rukkhadēvatā*) himself. We observe two human hands stretching forward out of the branches of a tree. One of them holds a flat dish, with a rice or flour cake; the second

[1] Watters, *l.c.*, p. 113.

hand holds a water pot, similar to the kind now used by Muhammadans in India. A bench and *mōṛhā*, or wicker stool, have been provided for Buddha in the shade of the sacred tree, while a male attendant stands to the left, ready to receive the frugal meal, which the Tree-spirit of the sacred tree at Uruvēlā had prepared for Buddha.

It is of considerable interest to observe the difference between the literary version of the story of Buddha's first meal after the *bōdhi* and this rilievo. It is quite possible that the sculptural representation from Bōdh Gayā may have preserved to us the *Codex Archetypus*, if I may say so, of this famous legend. Sujātā may, perhaps, be a later development of the Tree-goddess of the sacred tree at Uruvēlā, although I remember having read her name in ancient Pāli texts, *e.g.*. the *Aṅguttara Nikāya.* However, this question appears to me of slight importance only; the main point is that we now can trace the belief of a tree-goddess dwelling in the sacred tree at Uruvēlā, as far back as the 2nd century B.C., the time of the erection of the ancient stone railing at Bōdh Gayā, as I shall show in the next chapter. The conclusion thus offers itself, *viz.*, that there existed a sacred tree in the village of Uruvēlā at a very early time, and that the Buddhists, when they began worshipping at Uruvēlā as the place of the *bōdhi*, or enlightenment, of their deified teacher, naturally selected this sacred tree as the most conspicuous object of their worship, quite in accordance with the popular custom of Tree-worship, in India, which has remained as vigorous and powerful down to the present age, as it ever has been from time immemorial.

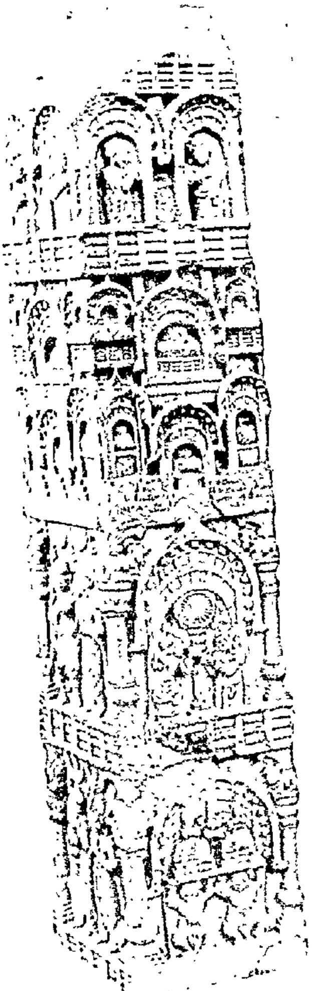
I shall have occasion to recur to the later history of the Bōdhi tree in the third chapter of this article. However, before proceeding to deal with the stone railing at Bōdh Gayā, I wish to draw attention to the interesting survival of the ancient name Uruvēlā as the name of a small hamlet of some fifteen or twenty mud houses, situated at a distance of about half a mile to the south of the temple at Bōdh Gayā. This village is now called Urēl, clearly a modern form, developed out of the ancient name of Uruvēlā, and similar local names are not infrequently met with in Bihār.[1] The text-illustration (Fig. 1.) will best afford an idea as to what the ancient Uruvēlā has come to in our present days. Needless to say, no *Sēnāpati* lives at present at Urēl, as in the palmy days when Buddha rested there; for the present Chowkidar of Urēl certainly would find it very hard to convince us that he is a scion of the family of the ancient *Sēnāpati* of Uruvēlā, the husband of Sujātā, if he ever should dare to lay claim to so old and distinguished a lineage.

II. The Ancient Stone Railing at Bōdh Gayā.

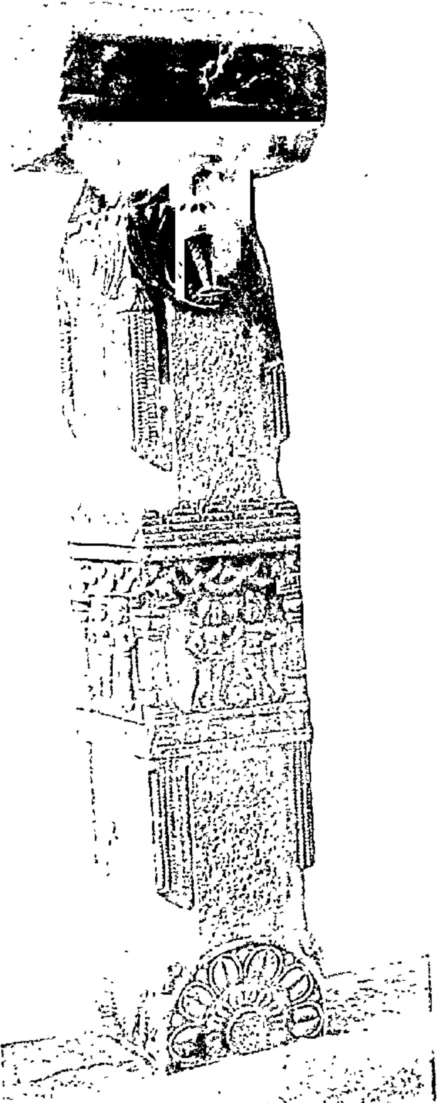
We know from the famous rilievo from Barāhat (Fig. 2), to which I have already had occasion to refer above (p. 139 footnote 1), that in the 2nd century B.C., the time when the Stūpa at Barāhat was built, the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh Gayā was surrounded by a sumptuous railing, consisting, as it appears, of a covered gallery, with open niches, resting on pillars. In front, in the right

[1] The Sanskrit form of the name is: *Uru-vilvā*, "(a village) with large *vilva*, or *bēl*-tree (*Aegle marmelos*). The small tree in front of the modern village of Urēl, as shown in the text-illustration, is indeed a *bēl*-tree; but I am sorry that this little tree had no leaves, at the time when the photograph was taken during the dry season, in May 1909.





(b)



(c)



(d)

RAILING PILLARS.

corner, was a column with the usual Persepolitan capital, upon which stood the figure of an elephant.[1] The question now arises: what use, if any, are we entitled to make of the Barāhat rilievo in connexion with the history of Bōdh Gayā?

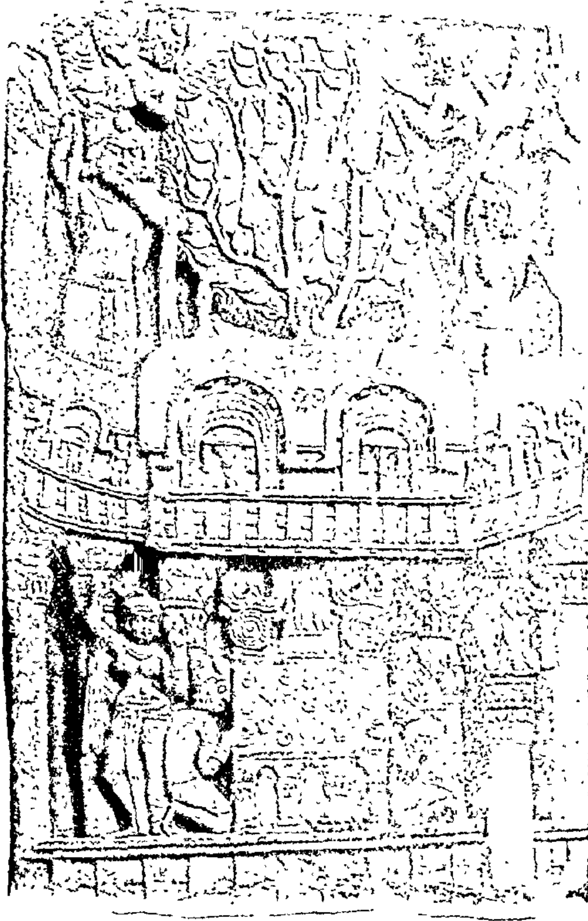


Fig. 2.
Barāhat rilievo, with inscription *Bhagavatō Sakamuninō bōdhō.*

That the upper gallery with the open niches in the Barāhat rilievo was intended to represent a solid stone structure, some kind of an enlarged "coping stone" (*ushṇīsha*) of the ordinary type of railing of those days, appears to me incredible. It is much too big and heavy, and if ever such a constructive absurdity had been attempted, the superintending architect probably would have met with the sad experience of seeing his stone pillars crushed to pieces by the heavy coping, even before the entire fence had been completed. For this reason we can only think of some lighter structure, made of wood, or bricks, if we are to accept the rilievo from Barāhat as a true representation of the ancient fencing around the Bōdhi Tree. It thus becomes evident that it would be in vain to expect any traces whatever to be left to us of this ancient gallery. Likewise, we might perhaps argue that the pillars supporting this gallery were made of wood, and that it is due to this perishable material that no remains whatever have been found of any similar pillar in the excavated area around the Bōdhi Tree and the temple at Bōdh Gayā. It is certainly a historical fact that the ancient Indians learnt the art of stone architecture at a very late date, probably not long before the time of Aśōka. The well-known Indian tradition, that Aśōka built his palace in Pāṭaliputra and other famous edifices with the help of the genii, *i.e.*, the Yakshas, still reflects to us something of the astonishment with which those architectural wonders were looked at by the Indians of that time. That the isolated column with an elephant on its capital likewise might have been made of wood, appears to me incredible, and, for the same reason, I do not in the least feel inclined to believe that the artist to whom we owe the Barāhat rilievo, committed such a serious blunder as to design a heavy gallery supported by wooden columns only. I am perfectly convinced that all the pillars on the rilievo

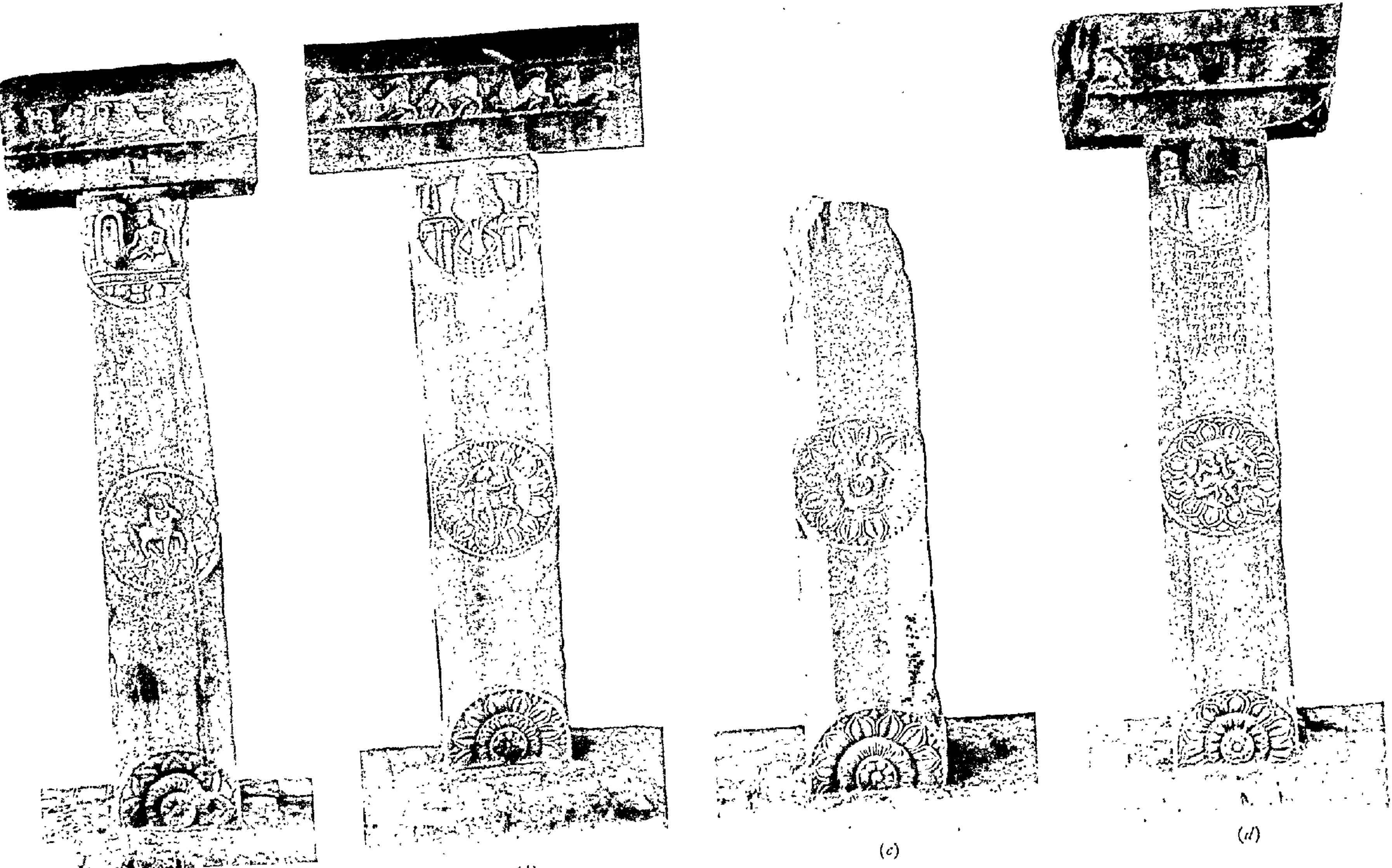
[1] The idea suggests itself, that there were altogether four such "elephant pillars," symbolising the "elephants of the four quarters" (*dig-gaja*), guarding the sacred Bōdhi tree, or, there may have been, besides the elephant pillar, three others with the figures of a horse, a bull, and a lion, the three animals, which we find associated with the elephant on the ancient capital from Sārnāth, of which an illustration has been published, *A. S. R.*, 1904-05, plate XX

from Barāhat are meant to represent stone columns, similar to the isolated pillar with the elephant, which might almost be called a typical representation of an Aśōka column.

Accepting the strength of this argument, against which we cannot possibly shut our eyes, we naturally must ask the question : where have all those stone columns disappeared to ? For so much, at least, we know for certain, that no traces of any similar column have been brought to light during the excavations of the area around the Bōdhi Tree and the temple at Bōdh Gayā. The Barāhat rilievo represents not more than one quarter of the entire fencing which surrounded the Bōdhi Tree. Including the isolated column with the figure of an elephant, we observe nine columns on this rilievo. This would make up a total of not less than thirty-two columns, which, if we may trust the Barāhat rilievo, surrounded the holy *pīpal* tree at Bōdh Gayā in the 2nd century B.C. Is it possible to believe that no trace whatever should have been left of any of those thirty-two columns? This question becomes ever so much more serious, if we remember that quite a number of stone pillars, railing bars, and coping stones have been found around the Bōdhi Tree and the temple at Bōdh Gayā, the date of the majority of which, as I shall presently show, coincides with the date of the Barāhat railing. If in the 2nd century B.C. the sacred *pīpal* tree at Bōdh Gayā already had such a sumptuous and stately railing, as the Barāhat rilievo might lead us to believe, what necessity was there to build a second one, of much inferior fabric, of which the larger part has still been preserved to us, while nothing whatever has remained of any railing similar to that shown in the rilievo from Barāhat ? I fail to understand how it will ever be possible to answer this question, except by saying that the artist of the Barāhat rilievo represented merely an imaginary type of a railing, surrounding the holy *pīpal* tree at Bōdh Gayā ; or in other words, that the Barāhat rilievo should be entirely discarded in dealing with the history of the ancient stone railing at Bōdh Gayā.

The railing, as it now stands around the Temple and the Bōdhi Tree, consists of two different parts, which may at once be distinguished from each other, not only by the difference in style of the carvings, but also by the different material, from which each of them has been made. The older set, Cunningham's so-called "Aśōka railing," is made of sand-stone from the Kaimur range of hills, near Sasseram, in the district of Shāhābād ; a later set, probably of the Gupta time (300-600 A. D.), is made of a coarse granite, or gneiss, such as one finds employed to a large extent in late temples in Magadha or Bihār. The carvings on each set also bear a striking difference. The older set has a number of rilievos representing the usual scenes, well known to us from other ancient Buddhist railings, *e.g.*, the *Indraśālāguhā* (Cunningham, *Mahabodhi,* plate VIII, 6); the purchase of the Jētavana by Anāthapiṇḍika (*l. c.* 8); Lakshmī bathed by the *diggajas* (*l. c.* 7) ; Sūrya standing on a chariot drawn by four horses, etc. On the later, or Gupta, pillars of the railing we meet with ornamental figures only (Plate LI, fig. *a*), such as Garuḍas, Kīrtimukhas, *stūpas*, etc., bearing in every detail the well-known characteristics of Gupta art such as we find at Sārnāth and other ancient sites in India.

It would be outside the scope of this article, which deals merely with the history of Bōdh Gayā, to enter into a detailed description of all the railing pillars, as


(a) (b) (c) (d)

RAILING PILLARS.

we now have them standing around the temple and the sacred Bōdhi Tree. So far as I am concerned at present with the Bōdh Gayā railing, there remains only one important point to be mentioned, to which I have already had occasion to call attention elsewhere.[1]

From what I have said above, in the first chapter of this article, it cannot surprise us in the least to find that the Bōdh Gayā railing is not a work of Aśōka's time, but is about one hundred years later, and that, for this reason, the term "Aśōka railing" which generally has been applied to it since Cunningham, is misleading and should be discarded. We find ample evidence in support of this fact from the inscriptions on the railing bars and pillars. Not less than fifteen times we meet with the following well-known inscription :—*Ayāyē Kuraṁgiyē dānaṁ.* "The gift of the noble lady Kuraṁgī."[2] From the two almost identical inscriptions (Cunningham, *l. c.*, plate X, Nos. 9 and 10)[3] we learn that this noble lady Kuraṁgī was the wife of Indrāgnimitra, whose name is met with again in another mutilated inscription on one of the railing pillars, where he appears to have had the title "king" (*rāñō*; gen. sg.) added before his name. Another very important inscription of the same time reads as follows :—(l. 1.) *Rāñō Brahmamitrasa*[4] *pājāvātiyē Nāgadēvayē danaṁ*, *i.e.* "The gift of Nāgadēvā, the wife of King Brahmamitra."

I think there can be no possible doubt that those two kings, Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, are identical with the two kings of the same names of whom a number of copper coins have been found in Northern India,[5] and that both of them were either contemporaries of or belonged to the dynasty of Śuṅga kings, to whose time the erection of the gateway of the Barāhat Stūpa is expressly referred by the inscription on that gateway. We thus have ample proof in support of what I have said above, *viz.*, that the older part of the Bōdh Gayā railing was put up in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., about one hundred years after the time of Aśōka. It seems most likely that this railing originally stood around the Bōdhi Tree, and so far, perhaps, the Barāhat rilievo, referred to above, is not far from the truth. The principal object of worship already at that time was the sacred Bōdhi Tree, and it is only natural to find it surrounded by a stone-railing, as appears to have been the case with similar sacred trees in ancient India since the 2nd century B.C. The railing pillars have been shifted a good deal,[6] and the position, in which General Cunningham found them, and in which they are now put up again, certainly is not the original one. I am, however, unable to explain the correct meaning of the

[1] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1096.

[2] In one instance, the inscription has *dinaṁ* for *dānaṁ* which, of course, is Skt. *dattam* "given".

[3] Inscription No. 10 is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It reads as follows :— "*Iṁdāgimitrāsa pajāvatiyē jivaputrāyē Kura[ṁ]giyē dānaṁ rājapāsāda-chētikāsa. i. e.*" "The gift of Kuraṁgī the wife of Indrāgnimitra and the mother of living sons, to the *chaitya* (*chētika*) of the noble temple" I take the word *rāja* before *pāsāda* as an *epithet on ornans*, distinguishing the temple as a particularly large and stately building, similar to such expressions as *rājahastin* "a noble elephant," *rājahaṁsa* "a goose" (as distinguished from *haṁsa* "a duck"), etc. Indian ladies still consider it a pride to call themselves *jīvaputrā* "a mother of living sons," an expression very familar to every reader of ancient Indian inscriptions.

[4] Written *Bramhamitrasa.*

[5] See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 80 and 84.

[6] On several pillars the ancient carvings have been partly destroyed by mortise-holes, cut through them at a later time, a clear evidence of the fact, that those pillars had been shifted from their original position and re-arranged at a later time.

words *rājāpāsāda-chētikāsa*, which I have translated literally above (see p. 147, foot-note 2) as "the *chaitya* of the noble temple." From this expression, we may, perhaps, infer that already in the 2nd century B.C. some kind of temple stood close to the Bōdhi Tree. Except for the addition of the words *rājā-pāsāda*, I should feel inclined to refer this expression to the Bōdhi Tree itself. In ancient Indian literature sacred trees are often called "*chaitya*;" but I am not aware of any instance, where an expression like *rājā-pāsāda* might apply merely to a sacred tree, and, for this reason, I fail to see how we can avoid the conclusion, that already in the 2nd century B.C. there existed some kind of temple at Bōdh Gayā. In regard to this building, however, we know only this much, that it is not identical with the present temple, although, perhaps, it may have stood at about the same place where the temple is now.

III. Brahmanical worship at Bōdh Gaya.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Inscription of the time of Dharmapāla, from Bōdh Gayā.

It will be known to most readers of this article that, at present, the temple at Bōdh Gayā, the Bōdhi Tree, and the sacred area around it, are the property of a Brahmanical Mahanth,[1] the head of an order of Śaiva ascetics. So far as I know, the claim of the Mahanth of Bōdh Gayā to the ownership of the Temple and its surroundings is founded on some *sanads*, or grants, given to his predecessors in the 16th or 17th century A.D. by one of the Mughal Emperors, either Akbar, Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence still available to us, by the help of which it is possible to prove that the two great Brahmanical sects both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas, had established themselves at Bōdh Gayā at a much

[1] This word, meaning "an abbot, the chief of a monastic establishment," is derived from Skt. *Mahārtha*, a dignified person, a man of high rank"; hence it spells correctly *mahanth*, and not *mahant*, as it is usually written.

earlier time, long before this sacred place had been deserted and given up by the Buddhists.

The oldest reference known to me of the existence of Śaivas at Bōdh Gayā is the tradition which Hiuen Tsiang has recorded in regard to the Temple at that place. He tells us the following story [1]:—

"The present temple had been built by a Brahmin acting on advice given to him by Śiva in the Snow Mountains and the neighbouring tank had been built by the Brahmin's brother also according to Śiva's advice."

It is of slight importance what amount of historical truth we may attribute to this tradition. The mere fact that, at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Bōdh Gayā, this story was current among the Buddhists at that place, and that neither the Buddhists who told him the story, nor the Chinese pilgrim himself, considered such a tradition incredible and absurd, appears to me sufficient proof of the fact that, in those days, Bauddhas and Śaivas lived together on friendly terms in Bōdh Gayā, as they probably also did at many other sacred places in India. Of the intimate relations which at that time existed between Bauddhas and Śaivas, we still have one very remarkable testimony. It is a well-known fact that, during the period between 400 and 800 A.D., or, may be, even a little earlier, in Buddhist mythology, Indra was replaced by Śiva, or rather by the Buddhist adaptation of Śiva, called Lōkēśvara or Avalōkitēśvara.[2] At that time, Indra must have lost a great amount of his popularity among the people of Northern India, and Śiva, like Indra himself originally a personification of the thunderstorm, had become the popular deity.[3]

The reflex of this important change in the popular mythology of Northern India, which we observe in Buddhism is the introduction of a new Bōdhisattva Lōkēśvara, or Avalōkitēśvara, who remains the constant companion of Buddha, as Indra did in ancient times. And I think we cannot err in looking upon places like Bōdh Gayā, Mathurā, or similar localities as the cradle of this very remarkable development.

We still possess an interesting epigraphical document in support of what I have said above about the early occurrence of Śaivas at Bōdh Gayā. The stone containing this inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[4] It shows three figures, Sūrya, Śiva and Vishṇu, all of very crude fabric. Sūrya to the proper right may be easily recognized by the two lotus-flowers and by the sword on his left side. Likewise, we cannot fail in recognizing Śiva in the central figure, although the club held in his left arm is somewhat peculiar.[5] However, the

[1] Watters, *op. cit.* Vol. II., p. 116.

[2] Similarly, Brahmā was turned into the Bōdhisattva Maitrēya, the future Buddha. This important change must have occurred in the North-West of India, where, during the reign of the Kushaṇa kings, the Buddhists had come into contact with the Zoroastrians. For the Buddhist idea of a future Buddha, Maitrēya, like the Jewish and Christian idea of the future appearance of the Messiah, evidently both must be traced back to the Zoroastrian belief in the Saoshyant, the future saviour of mankind, a fact, to which Professor Grünwedel has called attention more than ten years ago.

[3] The peasants of Bihār, *e.g.*, now attribute the rain to Śiva, as their ancestors did to Indra, many hundred years ago. I have myself heard the following expression used by peasants in Bihār during heavy rain *Āj Mahādēv kā baṛā din hai*, "To-day is the great day of Mahādēv (Śiva)."

[4] See text illustration No. 3. A facsimile of the inscription has been published by Cunningham, *Mahābōdhi*, Plate XXVIII, 3, and a very incorrect reading and translation will be found on page 63 ff. of the same book.

[5] I have seen figures of Śiva, wielding a club, in Bihār and Bengal, which were described to me as images of Bhairava. Apparently all of them were of recent date.

jaṭāmaṇḍala and the third eye on his forehead (*bhālalōchana*) enable us to identify this figure as Śiva. The image of Vishṇu, to the proper left, differs from the ordinary type in this that all the four hands are held downwards, also the two which hold the wheel (*chakra*) and the club (*gadā*). The remaining two hands hold a conch (*śaṅkha*) and a lotus (*padma*) ; at least, we may guess that the two indistinct objects which we observe on this carving, were intended to represent those two emblems. This type of Vishṇu image cannot be called uncommon at all ; I remember having seen many similar figures with the four hands down, both in Bihār and in Bengal.

The inscription, in nine lines on the left side of the stone, records that in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, on a Saturday (ll. 7-9), a *liṅga* with four faces (l. 2. *Mahādēvaś=chaturmukha*)[1] had been set up "in the pleasant abode of the Lord of Dharma" (*i.e.*, Buddha); (l. 1.) *Dharmmēśāyatanē ramyē*[2] by Kēśava, the son of Ujjvala, the stone-cutter (*śilābhidaḥ*, l. 1.), for the benefit of the descendants of *snātakas*, who lived at Mahābōdhi (*sc.* Bōdh Gayā,[3] l. 3.). Likewise a very deep tank, with clean water, similar to the impression of Vishṇu's foot (at Gayā : *Vishṇupadīsamā*, l. 5), had been excavated at the cost of 3,000 *drammas* of good value.[4]

The following is a transcript of this important inscription, of which I very much regret not to be able to supply the correct reading of five letters in the beginning of line 3. The metre is *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*) throughout.

Transcript.

(1) *Ōṁ* [||*] *Dharmmēś-āyatanē ramyē Ujjvalasya śilābhidaḥ* || (1) *Kē-*
(2) *śav-ākhyēna putrēṇa Mahādēvaś-chaturmukhaḥ* || (1) *Śrēshṭha-*
(3) *me* ⏑⏑– – ⏓ *Mahāvō(bō)dhi-nivāsināṁ* || (1) *Snātakā-*
(4) [*nāṁ*] *prajāyās=tu śrēyasē pratishṭhāpitaḥ* || (2) *Pushkari-*
(5) *ṇy=atyagāḍhā cha pūtā Vishṇupadī-samā* || (1) *tritaye-*
(6) *na sahasrēṇa drammāṇāṁ khānitā satāṁ* || (3).
(7) *Shaḍviṇśatitamē varshē Dharmmapālē mahībhuji* || (1)
(8) *Bhādra-va(ba)hula-pañchamyāṁ sūnōr=Bhāska-*
(9) *rasy=āhani* || *Ōṁ* [||*].

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[1] Similar *liṅgas* are exceedingly common in North-Eastern India, and are still called *chaumukh Mahādēv* as in the inscription. One of the four faces naturally is of Śiva, while the remainder are of other deities, Vishṇu Sūrya, Brahmā, Kārttikēya, etc. We shall probably be right in looking upon those *liṅgas*, with four faces as adaptations of the well-known type of the images of Brahmā, by the Śaivas. The four faces of Brahmā, of course, symbolize the four Vēdas. Or the four faces around the *liṅga* may represent the four *lōkapālas* guarding the sacred emblem.

[2] There still exists a well-known locality, called Dharmāraṇ (or in Sanskrit, *Dharmāraṇya*), a little over one mile to the east of Bōdh Gayā. It is visited by most of the pilgrims from Gayā, the so-called "*piṇḍa-vālās*" who come to Bōdh Gayā for the sake of offering rice-balls (*piṇḍas*) to their ancestors, and it contains, moreover, the tomb of a Muhammadan Saint, called Sulṭān Pīr. However, I do not think that the expression, *Dharmmēśāyatanē* refers specially to this locality. I take the word *Dharmmēśa* as synonymous with Buddha, and "the pleasant abode of the Lord of Dharma (*i.e.* Buddha)" thus can only refer to Bōdh Gayā, which we find mentioned again in l. 3 under the name of *Mahābōdhi* (written *Mahāvōdhi.*)

[3] The word Mahābōdhi here clearly refers to Bōdh Gayā. In a later inscription, written in Nāgarī on one of the railing pillars, now standing south of the Temple at Bōdh Gayā, the same word is applied to the Bōdhi Tree. See Cunningham, *op., cit.* p. 82, where the word *Bhandāraka* (l. 5) should be corrected to *bhaṭṭāraka*.

[4] ll. 5-6. *tritayēna sahasrēṇa drammāṇāṁ khānitā satāṁ*. With this expression compare similar ones, like the German *gute Groschen*, etc. In Muhammadan documents in India, one frequently meets with the similar expres-

The 26th regnal year of Dharmapāla probably fell somewhere between A.D. 850 and 950; but although the day (5th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, l. 8.) is coupled with the name of the presiding deity (Saturday, *Sūnōr-Bhāskarasya*, l. 8., *i.e. Śanaiśchara*, Saturn), it would, I am afraid, be a mere waste of time to calculate all the possible European equivalents of the date during this period, all the more so, as the date falls in the dark fortnight of the month, when the number of possible chances naturally increases considerably, as the date may have been recorded either according to the *pūrṇimānta* or the *amānta* scheme of lunar fortnights. However, the approximate European value, given above, probably cannot be very far from the truth, and we thus know, for certain, that a congregation of Śaiva ascetics (*snātakas*) had established themselves at Bōdh Gayā towards the close of the 9th, or the beginning of the 10th century A.D., that is, at a time when Buddhism still is known to have flourished in Bōdh Gayā as well as all over Magadha or Bihār.

I am unfortunately not in a position to point to any inscription or other historical record, which might help us to settle the date of the "Vaishṇava invasion of Bōdh Gayā," if I may use this expression. So far as I am aware, the earliest reference in literature to the ninth or Buddha Avatāra, of Vishṇu, is found in Kshēmēndra's *Daśāvatāra-charita*, a work of the 12th century A.D. Among the many rilievos representing the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, I have met with only one or two in Bihār on which the Buddha Avatāra appeared to be left out, while it can not surprise us to find this ninth Avatāra omitted also in a few sculptural representations of the same subject, dating, perhaps, from the 7th or 8th centuries A.D., which I have seen in the Central Provinces. We are, however, to a certain degree compensated for this loss of a clear chronological evidence by the fact that we can still trace the way in which the story of the Buddha Avatāra of Vishṇu originated. It was at Bōdh Gayā itself, where Vishṇu became re-born as Lord Buddha, if I may say so, and the Vaisṇavas at first did not identify Buddha himself with Vishṇu, but the sacred Bōdhi Tree, which to the pious Buddhists still forms the centre of the Universe, as the cross of Christ on Mount Golgotha to millions of Christians.

Of this interesting fact, the *Prayōgas*, or books on ritual, prescribed for Vaishṇava pilgrims at Gayā and the sacred *tīrthas* in its neighbourhood, still afford us very clear evidence. Thus, in Maṇirāma's *Gayāyātrāprayōga*[1] we read the

sion : *sikka* (or *rūpaiyā*) *i-kull-dār*, *i.e.* "coins (or rupees) of full weight." Silver coins from the pre-Mughal mints in Bengal generally bear a number of punches, put on them by the bankers through whose hands the coins had passed, just as people in India, bankers as well as private individuals, are still in the habit of signing their names on modern currency notes, before they pass them on. It is, of course, impossible to estimate the modern equivalent of 3,000 *drammas* of the time of Dharmapāla. The *dramma* of those days must have been a gold, or silver coin, very much alloyed with copper or bronze. I may mention, in passing, that the word *dramma* goes back to the Greek δραχμή through the intermediate Persian form *drahma*. We still use this old coin name very frequently in India, although we now generally employ it in the sense of "price," "market value." For the modern Indian word *dām* goes back to the Greek word δραχμή. In Akbar's time the *dām* was a copper coin, weighing some 350 or 300 grains, of which not less than forty went into the Rupee! There is no clearer evidence than this, to show the depreciation of the market value of the Rupee in modern India.

[1] Quoted from the Manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sanskrit MS. III., D, 27, fol. 17-A.

following in reference to the fourth day on which the pilgrim has to visit Bōdh Gayā and the *tīrthas* close to that place :—

Tatō Dharmaṁ Dharmēśvaraṁ Mahābōdhi-drumaṁ cha yathākramaṁ namēt. Tatra mantraḥ :—

Namas=tē=śvattha-rājāya Brahma-Vishṇu-Śiv-ātmanē ।
Bōdhidrumāya kartṛīṇāṁ pitṛīṇāṁ tāraṇāya cha ॥
Yē=smat-kulē mātṛivaṁśē bāndhavā durgatiṁ gatāḥ ।
tvad-darśanāt=sparśanāch=cha svargatiṁ yāntu tē=kshayām ॥
Ṛiṇa-trayaṁ mayā dattaṁ Gayām=āgatya vṛiksharāṭ ।
Tvat-prasādād=ahaṁ muchyē saṁsārārṇava-sāgarāt ॥

"Thereafter he should bow down before Dharma, Dharmēśvara,[1] and the Mahābōdhi tree, in due order. On this occasion, the following verses [should be recited]:—

"Adoration to thee, noble *aśvattha*, the Bōdhi Tree, whose soul is Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, [a means] of saving [our] dead ancestors and makers. The relations in my own and in my mother's family, who have gone to hell, may they all come to heaven for ever through seeing and touching thee. Oh ! noble tree ! I have paid off a threefold[2] debt by coming to Gayā ; may I be saved from the ocean of re-births through thy favour."

These verses, like some other similar ones, which I have read in an older compilation, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Gayānushṭhāna-paddhati*,[3] still reflect to us some idea of the great importance which the Bōdhi Tree, from the beginning, must have had in connection with the ancestor worship at Gayā and Bōdh Gayā. It is true that in the verses from Maṇirāma's *Gayāyātrā-prayōga* this tree is identified not only with Vishṇu, but also with Brahmā and Śiva. However, I do not think that we should in any way be justified in giving too much weight to this fact. Maṇirāma's book is a late compilation, and I have quoted him here merely in order to show that it is the Bōdhi Tree itself, and not Buddha, to whom the Brahmanical pilgrims address their prayers at Bōdh Gayā. After the tree had once been identified with Vishṇu, it was only natural that Brahmā and Śiva likewise came to be identified with it. The Brahmanical pilgrims at Gayā worship, besides, several other sacred trees in the course of their *piṇḍadāna* or "rice-ball offering," the best known among which is, perhaps, "the eternal banyan tree," (*akshayavaṭa*), near the Prapitāmahēśvara, an enormous *liṅga* with one human head. The tree itself, as we know from the *prayōgas* and an inscription of the early part of the 13th century A.D., is identified with Brahmā (*prapitāmaha*), and we thus have here a clear analogy to what I have just said in reference to the Brahmanical worship at Bōdh Gayā. Moreover, at Bōdh Gayā itself, there still stands to the north of the temple a second *pīpal* tree larger and finer than the Bōdhi Tree. An illustration of this second *pīpal* tree to the north of the temple is published on Plate L. It is evident that this second tree was planted by the Brahmanical worshippers at Bōdh Gayā for their own sacred rites; for the tree stands to the north of the Temple, and a Hindu, offering rice-balls to his dead ancestors, has to turn his face to the north, the point of the horizon

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[1] Compare above, p. 150 n. 2.
[2] *i.e.* for myself, for my ancestors, and for my children.
[3] As. Soc. of Bengal, Sanskrit MS. D. 26.

belonging to the *pitaras*, or Manes.[1] After the Bōdhi Tree had once been identified with Vishṇu, it is only natural to find the Vaishṇavas proceeding further and making Buddha himself an incarnation of Vishṇu. For to the ordinary Buddhist the sacred Bōdhi Tree certainly always has been and still is a symbol of the deified teacher of his creed, of Buddha himself, and it thus came to pass, that Vishṇu had to appear on this earth first in the shape of a *pīpal* tree, before he could be re-born as the Lord Buddha, the saviour of mankind.

IV. Selected Inscriptions from Bōdh Gayā.

It is not my intention to publish here in extenso all the inscriptions which still exist at Bōdh Gayā, or which are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Some of them are written in languages unknown to me, like Chinese and Burmese, and a *number of them have already been published on previous occasions. As this article* is mainly concerned with the history of Bōdh Gayā and its ancient remains, I have restricted myself to the publication of only a few selected epigraphs, which are of some interest to us from a historical point of view, and which either have not yet been published, or require to be published again. A few inscriptions have already been dealt with in the preceding chapters of this article.

I begin with the interesting inscription written on the coping stone of the ancient railing at Bōdh Gayā.[2] It is fragmentary only, and the beginning and end of each of the two lines are missing. However, enough remains to afford us some interesting information with regard to the history of the sacred buildings at Bōdh Gayā. There is no mention of any date, neither is there any reference to any king or other known person. However, the style of writing employed in the inscription, allows us to put down the date at about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

Transcript.

(l. 1.) . . . . *kāritō yatra Vajrāsana-vṛihad-gandhakuṭī. Prāsādam=arddha-trikair=ddīnāra-śatais=sudhā-lēpya-punar-ṇṇavīkaraṇēna saṁskaritaṁ. Atr=aiva cha pratyaham=ā-chandr-ārkk-ā-tārakaṁ Bhagavatē Buddhāya gō-śata-dānēna ghṛita-pradīpaḥ ākāritaḥ. Prāsādē cha khaṇḍa-sphaṭita-pratisamārādhanē*[3] *tat-pratimāyāṁ cha pratyahaṁ ghṛita-pradīpō gō-śatēn=āparēṇa kāritaḥ. Vihārē=pi Bhagavatō raitya-Buddha-pratimā[yāṁ gō-śatēn=āparēṇa ghṛita-pradīpaḥ . . . .]*

(l. 2.) . . . . *[ghṛita]-pradīpākshayanīvi-ni[ba] n[dha]ḥ vihār-ōpayō[gāya] kāritas=Tatrā=pi* . . . . *bhikshu-saṁghasya*

[1] I have been told by several Buddhists, whom I met at Bōdh Gayā, that they would be very content, if the Brahmins would stick to their old tree to the north of the temple, and allow the Buddhists the exclusive use of the temple itself, as well as of the sacred Bōdhi Tree, to the west of the temple. I have always thought that this arrangement would be the only fair and just settlement of this long and wearisome quarrel. However, I am afraid the Law-courts of British India do not agree with me in this matter.

[2] A facsimile of this inscription will be found in Cunningham's *Mahabodhi* Plate XXVII, No. 1; however, this facsimile has been retouched and is, accordingly, of little value. Likewise, the transcript and translation of a few selected bits from this inscription, which Cunningham published on page 58, may be referred to here merely for the sake of completeness. That part of the mutilated inscription, shown in Cunningham's facsimile, is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Another fragment of the remainder is still at Bōdh Gayā, on the coping of the railing, south of the temple; however, the stone has been used for sharpening knives and most of the letters are gone.

[3] The letter *rā* has been added below the line.

[ārya]sya [u]payōgāya mahāntam=ādhāraṁ khānitaṁ, tad-anupūrvam ch=ā prahaṭaka-kshētram=utpāditam. Tad=ētat=sarvvaṁ yan=mayā puṇy-ōpachita-sambhāraṁ tan=mātāpitrōḥ[1] *p[ūrvaṁgamaṁ kṛitvā . . .]*

I have given the text of the inscription as it stands, without correcting a few mistakes, like: *Khaṇḍa-sphaṭita-pratisamārādhanē* (l. 1; read ° *pratisamārā=dhanāya*); *mahāntam=ādhāram khānitaṁ* (l. 2; read *mahad=ādhāraṁ*), etc. The Sanskrit is more or less incorrect, as in the majority of later Buddhist inscriptions in India. Likewise the construction of the last sentence; *Tad=ētat=sarvvaṁ yan=mayā puṇy-ōpachita-sambhāraṁ*, etc., appears to have been faulty. However, the meaning of the inscription, as we still have it, remains beyond dispute.

Translation.

(l. 1.) . . . . has been made, where the great *Gandhakuṭī* of Vajrāsana (*sc.* Buddha) is. The temple has been adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint, at the cost of 250 *dīnāras.* And in the temple a lamp of *ghee* has been provided for the Lord Buddha by the gift of a hundred cows, for as long as moon, sun, and stars shall endure. Also, by another hundred cows, in addition to the cost of small, perpetually recurring repairs to the temple, provision has been made for [another] lamp of *ghee,* to be burnt daily before the image inside the temple. [By another hundred cows provision has been made for having a lamp of *ghee* burnt before] the brass image of the Lord Buddha in the Monastery (*vihāra*). . . . . .

(l. 2.). . . . . a perpetual endowment of a lamp [of *ghee*] has been made for the benefit of the Monastery. There also . . . . . . a large water reservoir has been dug out for the use of the noble congregation of monks, and to the east of it, a new field has been laid out. Whatever merit may have been acquired by me by all this, may this be for the benefit of my parents [at first . . . .].

The word *vajrāsana* (l. 1.) is occasionally met with as a name of Buddha, the meaning which it clearly has in this inscription.

The word *gandhakuṭī* means 'a chamber, where Buddha used to reside,' hence 'a shrine, containing an image of Buddha.' It would be useless to try and find out which of the many small shrines, the foundations of which cover the ground all around the temple at Bōdh Gayā, has been referred to in this inscription. Possibly the "large temple on the west side of the Bōdhi Tree," mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang may be meant.

By 250 *dīnāras*, probably the well-known gold coins of Gupta mintage are meant. In modern Indian currency, the value of this sum would come to about 2,500 or 3,000 rupees which appears quite a big item for renewing the plaster and paint of the temple at Bōdh Gayā. However, we may include a good deal of stucco-work (*sudhā*) and besides, the rates for skilled painters (*lēpya*) and modellers very likely may have been higher than for ordinary workmen. Thus the cost of the repairs probably was not altogether too high, considering that they included a large amount of "special work," for which, of course, "special rates" had to be charged in the 6th and 7th centuries as well as in the 19th and 20th centuries A.D.

[1] The letter *tā* has been added below the line.

Vihārē=pi Bhagavatō raitya-Buddha-pratimā[*yāṁ*]. (l. 1.) This "brass image of the Lord Buddha in the Monastery" may be the famous image of Buddha made, according to tradition, by Maitrēya, the so-called "life-portrait," which appears to have been kept inside the *Mahābōdhi-vihāra*. Hiuen Tsiang[1] describes it as an image "made of gold and silver, and ornamented by precious stones of various colours." In reality, however, it may have been of brass, but gilded and covered with silver. I find, besides, "a bronze (*t'u-si*) standing image of the Buddha adorned with precious stones" mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[2] However, this image stood in "a large temple on the west side of the Bōdhi Tree," and if it is referred to at all in the above inscription, I would suggest that the beginning of the first line, *Vajrāsana-gandhakuṭī*, might possibly apply to this particular image. It is interesting to find special mention made in the inscription of the fact that the image of Buddha was of brass (*raitya*). In the inscription on the base of another image of the Bōdhisattva from Bōdh Gayā, which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of which Cunningham[3] has published an illustration, it is expressly mentioned that the image was made of stone (*śailikāṁ Bōdhisatva-pratimāṁ*, l. 2.). In those early days, images of the Buddha, or the Bōdhisattva, were still of comparatively rare occurrence, and it cannot, accordingly, surprise us to find special mention made of the material of which these two images were constructed, *viz.*, brass (*raitya*) and stone (*śailika*).

In other respects, this interesting inscription does not seem to call for any further comment. The temple (*prāsāda*) naturally must have been the same edifice which we still have at the present day, although it certainly has undergone a number of alterations, since its stucco and painting were renewed in the 6th or 7th century A.D. The Monastery (*vihāra*) was, of course, the great *Saṅghārāma*, "outside of the north gate of the Bōdhi Tree ...... built by a former king of Ceylon. Its buildings formed six courts, with terraces and halls of three storeys."[4] The remains of this stately building, perhaps one of the largest *Saṅghārāmas* that ever existed in India, still lie buried beneath the high plateau, stretching to a considerable extent to the north and west of the Temple and the sacred area of the Bōdhi Tree. The excavation of this very promising and important site is one of the most urgent claims which the higher interests of Indian and Buddhist history, mythology, and art have during the near future, and I trust that we shall not have to wait for many years, before the Archæological Department in India is able to begin work at the *Mahābōdhi-Saṅghārāma*.

I add merely a few short epigraphical records of some pilgrims from distant countries, who had come to Bōdh Gayā during its palmy days, between 600 and 1200 A.D., and even earlier.

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[1] Watters, *loc. cit.* p. 136.

[2] Watters, *loc. cit.* p. 121.

[3] *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXV. I may mention in passing, that the robe, worn by the Bōdhisattva in this image, still has retained its original coating of a dark, reddish brown *kashāya* paint. The face and breast show the natural grey colour of the sandstone, from which the image is made. They, probably, too originally had a coating of light, rosy paint, which, however, did not last, as the *kashāya* painting of the *saṅghāṭi*, or robe of Buddha.

[4] Watters, *l. c.* p. 136.

V. Pilgrims from Ceylon.

In addition to the well-known inscriptions of Mahānāman from Bōdh Gayā, I am able to publish three further epigraphs of Ceylonese visitors to Bōdh Gayā, dating from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 850.

The first is written on one of the bars of the ancient stone railing around the temple. Its characters agree in every detail with the inscriptions of Kuraṁgī, Indrāgnimitra, and Brahmamitra on the same railing referred to above (pp. 147 ff), and it is evident that it belongs to the same period (2nd century B.C.). A facsimile of this short inscription has been published by Cunningham (Plate X, No. 3), from which I read as follows:—*Bōdhirakhitasa Ta[ṁ]bapa[ṁ]nakasa*[1] *danaṁ, i.e.,* "the gift of Bōdhirakshita from Ceylon (Tāmraparṇī)."

Next in time follows an inscription in two lines, written on a broken fragment of the coping stone of the ancient railing which is at present lying on the ground on the southern side of the Temple at Bōdh Gayā. Its characters agree in every respect with the writing of the inscription from the same railing published above, p. 153. The inscription tells us that a monk (*śramaṇa*) belonging to the royal family of Ceylon, whose personal proper name appears to have been *Prakhyātakīrtti* (v. 1.), made a *kārā*[2] at the place sacred to the "three jewels" (*ratnatrayē*[3] v. 2) "for the peace of mankind, wishing to attain to the state of a Buddha" (v. 2.). The mutilated 3rd verse contains the usual precatory formula, expressive of a wish that whatever merit may be acquired by this pious act should be for the benefit of the teacher and parents of the donor, as well as for the well-being of humanity in general.

The following is a transcript of this inscription[4] :—

(l. 1.) *Laṅkā-dvīpa-narēndrāṇāṁ Śramaṇaḥ kula-jō=bhavat* [|*]
Prakhyātakīrttir=ddharmmātmā sva-kul-āmbara-chandramāḥ [||(1)*]
Bhaktyā tu bhikshuṇā=nēna Buddhatvam=abhikāṁkshatā [|*]
kārā ratna-trayē samyak=kāritā śāntayē nṛiṇām [||(2)*]
Tatō mayā yat=kuśalaṁ hy=upārjjitam
tad=asty=upādh[yā]ya ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
(l. 2.) *śubhēna tēn=aiva [pha]lēna yujyatām* [||(3)*]

Translation.[5]

"There was a pious monk, Prakhyātakīrtti [by name], born from the house of the rulers of the Isle of Laṅkā (Ceylon) and a moon in the sky of his race. Out of devotion that Friar, longing to attain Buddha-hood, caused a *kārā* to be duly

[1] Two small blank spots above the letters *ta* and *pa* look almost like signs of the Anusvāra.

[2] I do not know, in what sense this word has been employed here. I can hardly imagine it to mean "a prison" as it generally does. For, although a prison certainly is a very powerful and effective means of securing peace to mankind (see end of v 2), I doubt, if a monk in building a prison could have thought of "attaining to the state of a Buddha" as Prakhyātakīrtti did, when he built his *kārā* (see v. 2.)

[3] This expression, again, is not clear to me. I suppose, however, that it may refer to some sacred spot within the Bōdhi area at Bōdh Gayā, where, perhaps, a symbol of the "three jewels" sc. *Buddha, Dharma,* and *Saṅgha* may have stood, having the shape of three wheels, placed upon a pillar, like similar symbols known to us from other ancient Buddhist localities in India.

[4] Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Anushṭubh* (*ślōka*); of verse 3 *Vaṁśastha.*

[5] Translation by the editor.

made at the Triratna for the peace of men. Whatsoever merit, therefore, I have acquired thence, it will be [for the benefit of] the teacher . . . . May he be provided with that very fruit of bliss."

The third inscription is an *Anushṭubh* verse (*ślōka*) written in two lines in characters of about the 9th or 10th century A.D. on the broken pedestal of a Buddhist statue, now kept inside the sculpture shed to the north of the Temple at Bōdh Gayā. This pedestal, besides, contains small rilievo figures, representing from right to left the following :—(*a*) two small kneeling devotees, mother and son; (*b*) a horse; (*c*) a wheel; (*d*) a swordsman; (*e*) a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*); (*f*) a diademed male figure seated; (*g*) perhaps a wheel; (*h*) a seated female figure; (*i*) a lotus flower with some indistinct object over it; (*k*) an elephant; (*l*) a kneeling male figure holding a garland.

I take the figure of a male (*l*) as a portrait of the donor of the statue, Udayaśrī from Ceylon, and the female with boy (*a*) as a portrait of his wife and son. The intermediate symbols (*b* to *k*) evidently represent the nine jewels (*nava-ratnāni*), so often referred to in Buddhist scriptures. The word *bhagavān* in the inscription apparently refers to the statue itself, to which this pedestal belonged.[1]

Transcript.

(l. 1.) *Kāritō Bhagavān=ēsha Saiṁhalēn=Ōdayaśriyā* ।
duḥkh-āmbhōnidhi-nirmagna-jagad-uddhara-
(l. 2.) *ṇ-ēchchhayā.*

Translation.[2]

"This [image of the] Lord was caused to be made by the Singalese Udayaśrī wishing to escape from the world which is submerged in an ocean of woe."

IV. A Pilgrim from Lower Bengal.

This inscription is written in characters of about the 10th century A.D. on the base of a life-size image of Buddha, standing, attended by Avalōkitēśvara and Maitrēya. This statue is now in the staircase, leading up to the platform of the temple, on the northern side. There are, besides, several other inscriptions on this image, generally repetitions of the usual formula : *Yē dharmā hētu-prabhavā*, etc., and near the right shoulder of Buddha is written the following *ślōka* :

Transcript.

(l. 1). *Ōṁ* [॥*] *Anēna śubha-mārggēṇa pravishṭō Lōka-nāyakaḥ* [।*]
(l. 2). *ataś=cha bōdhi-mārggō=yaṁ*
(l. 3). *mōksha-mārgga-prakāśakaḥ*.॥

[1] In modern India, *bhagavān* is a general expression, applied to any symbol of the divine being, even to a heap of earth, a stone, or a piece of wood.

[2] Translation by the editor.

Translation.

"Since the Lord of the world (*sc.* Buddha) has entered this noble path, the way to spiritual enlightenment shows [us] the way to salvation."

The inscription on the base runs as follows:—

Transcript.

(l 1). *Śrī-Sāmataṭikaḥ*[1] *pravara-Ma-*
(l. 2). *hāyāyāna-yāyinaḥ śrīmat-Sōmapura-mahā-*
(l. 3.) *vihārīya-vinaya-vit-sthavira-Vīryēndrasya*[l*]
(l. 4.) *Yad=attra puṇyan=tad=bhavatv=āchāry-ōpā-*
(l. 5). [*dhyāya*]*-mātāpitṛi-pūrvvaṅgamaṁ kṛitvā sakala-*
(l. 6). [*sattva-rāśē*]*r=anuttara-jñānāvāptaya iti.*

Translation.[2]

"[Gift] of the senior monk Vīryēndra, a knower of the Vinaya and an inmate of the great monastery of Sōmapura, an inhabitant of the Samataṭa country and a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna system. Whatsoever merit there is in this [gift], let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom in the first place by [his] teachers, preceptors and parents, and of the whole multitude of sentient beings."

I have thought it unnecessary to correct the wrong spellings in line 5. This part of the well-known formula is misspelt in almost every inscription on mediæval Buddhist images which I have seen in Bihār and Bengal.

I am unable to identify Sōmapura, a village or town in Lower Bengal (*Samataṭa*), where the "great monastery" (*mahā-vihāra*) was situated, to which the *sthavira* Vīryēndra belonged, who, as we learn from the inscription, was a follower of the "excellent Mahāyāna doctrine" (ll. 1 and 2), and who "knew the Vinaya" (*vinayavit*; l. 3). The latter expression, probably, like similar ones known to us from other Buddhist inscriptions, meant that Vīryēndra had learnt the Vinayapiṭaka, or rather the corresponding texts in the canon of Mahāyāna scriptures, by heart, and was able to recite them for the benefit of others, or as we would say now-a-days, "to lecture on the rules of good conduct in accordance with the Mahāyāna doctrine of Buddhism."

T. BLOCH.

[1] This should of course be either *Sāmataṭikasya* or *Sāmataṭika.*
[2] Translation by the editor.

NAGA WORSHIP IN ANCIENT MATHURA.

MATHURĀ, that important centre of both art and cult, has already yielded a tangible proof of the existence of Nāga worship in the form of a ston slab (height, 3′2″), now in the Lucknow Museum, which bears an inscription in Brāhmī of the Kushaṇa period. It was read by Bühler [1]:

Text.

Si[ddhaṁ Saṁ 26 va 3 di 5] ētasya pū[rvāyaṁ] Bhagavat[ō] N[ā]g[ē]ndrasya Dadhikarṇṇasya st[ā]nē śilāpaṭṭō pratishṭāpitō Māthurāṇaṁ śailālakānaṁ Chāndak[ā-]bhrātṛik[ā] iti vishṭūyamānānaṁ tēshaṁ putrēhi Nandibala-pramukhēhi dārakēhi mātā-pitṛiṇaṁ agrapratyaśatāye bhavatu sarvvasattvānaṁ [hita]-sukhā[rthaṁ] bhavatu.

Translation.

"Success! [In the year 26, in the 3rd month of the rainy season, on the 5th day.] On this date a stone slab was set up in the place sacred to the divine lord of snakes, Dadhikarṇa, by the boys, chief among whom was Nandibala, the sons of the actors of Mathurā who are being praised as the Chāndaka brothers. May [the merit of this gift] be by preference for their parents; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings!"

Professor Bühler was informed by Dr. Führer that the latter had found the slab in the course of his excavations at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, namely, on the pavement of the court near the brick *stūpa* adjoining the two Jaina temples. Notwithstanding this apparently accurate notation of the find-place of this inscription, I must point out that the information supplied by Dr. Führer was evidently wrong; for the same inscription had already been noted by Mr. Growse, who published a hand-copy of it in the second edition of his *Mathurā* which appeared in 1880, *viz.*, eight years before Dr. Führer began his exploration of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. Mr. Growse states definitely that the slab came from the Jamālpur mound.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 380 f. and 390, no. xviii. Cf. Growse, *Mathurā* (2nd ed. 1880) p. 108 with plate. My reading of the date is based on Growse's facsimile.

This statement is of great interest. We know that the Jamālpur site, situated 1¾ miles south of the city of Mathurā and now occupied by the Collector's court-house represents the site of a Buddhist *Vihāra* founded by king Huvishka in the year 47 of Kanishka's era. We may assume that this particular spot was selected for the King's sanctuary, because it was of old "the place sacred to the divine lord of Nāgas Dadhikarṇa." Unfortunately the first line of the inscription containing the date is badly damaged. The hand-copy published by Mr. Growse shows two figures indicating the year which are no longer extant on the stone. They appear to represent the numerals 20 and 6. The stone retains traces of the 6, and between this figure and the preceding *sa* there is sufficient space for another figure. If 26 is the true date of the inscription, it would prove that the spot was associated with the worship of the Nāga Dadhikarṇa previous to the foundation of Huvishka's *Vihāra.*

This is confirmed by another epigraph found on a pillar-base which must have belonged to this very *Vihāra.* It records that the object on which it is incised was the gift of Dēvila, " a servant of the shrine of Dadhikarṇa." It is not a little curious to find a Nāga priest taking part in the building of a Buddhist sanctuary. From this inscription it is also clear that the Nāga possessed his own shrine (*dēvakula*) not far from Huvishka's *Vihāra.*

Professor Lüders [1] to whom we owe the interpretation of the pillar-base inscription, notes that the name of Dadhikarṇa is found in a list of Nāgas quoted by Hēmachandra in his own commentary on the *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi.* As stated by Bühler, his name occurs also in the *Harivaṁśa* where he is invoked in the "Snake-spell" (Skr. *āhnika-mantra*), the daily prayer which is said to have been recited originally by Baladēva and after him by Krishṇa.

In April 1908 Pandit Radha Krishna acquired for the Mathurā Museum a life-size Nāga statue of unusual interest. (No.C 13, height 7′ 8″, including snake-hood Plate LIII). He discovered it at the village of Chhargāon, 5 miles almost due south of Mathurā. The Nāga is shown standing with his right arm raised over his head as if ready to strike. The left hand is broken, but probably held a cup in front of the shoulder. The figure wears a *dhōtī* and an upper garment, which is tied round the waist in a mode peculiar to sculptures of the Kushaṇa period. A necklace can be traced on the chest. The spirited attitude of the image deserves special notice. The head is surmounted by a seven-headed snake-hood showing that the figure represents a Nāga.

This is, moreover, definitely stated in a well-preserved inscription (Plate LVI) of six lines carved on the back of the sculpture. I read it :—

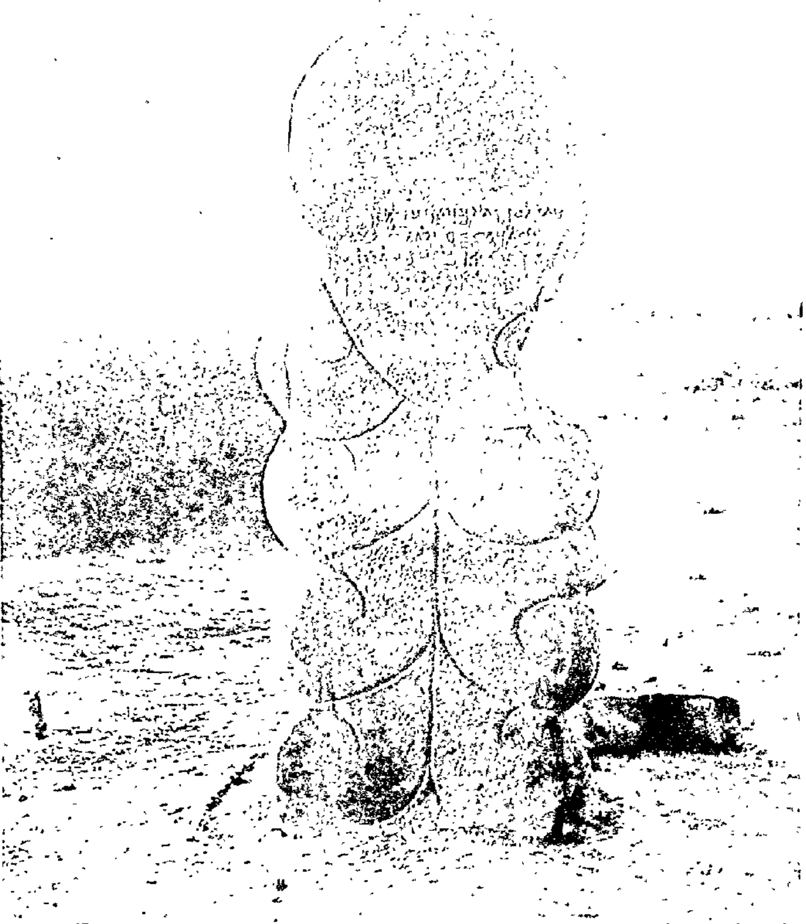
Text.

1. *Maharajasya rajāttirājasya Huviskasya savatsara chat[u]riśa 40*
2. *hēmatta-masē 2 divasē 23 ētta purvāyyā*
3. *Sēnahasti [cha] Piṇḍapayya-putrō Bhōṇuke cha*
4. *Viravṛiddhi-putrō ētti vayyasyā ubhayyē*
5. *Nāga[ṁ] prattistāp[ē]tti pushkaraṇiyy[ā]*
6. *śvakayyā Priyyati Bhagavā Nāgō.*

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 102 f. No. 13.



(*a*) FRONT.

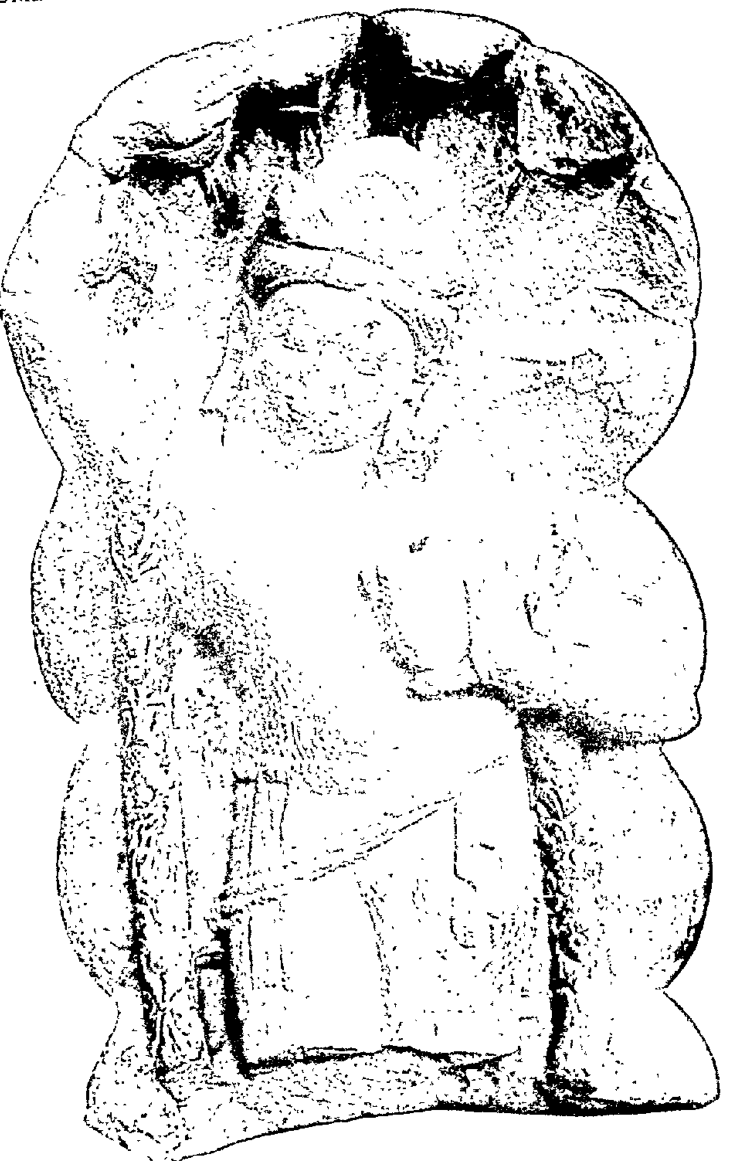


(*b*) BACK.

NAGA STATUE FROM CHHARGAON.



(a) NAGA FIGURE FROM MATHURA CITY.



(b) NAGA FIGURE FROM KUKARGAM.

Translation.

"In the fortieth year, 40, of the king, the king of kings, Huvishka, in the second month of winter, the 23rd day. On this date Sēnahastin, the son of Piṇḍapayya, and Bhōṇuka, the son of Vīravṛiddhi—these two comrades—erect[ed] both [this] Nāga at their own tank. May the Lord Nāga be pleased! [1]"

Since the discovery of the Chhargāon Nāga, it has become apparent that this interesting image represents a fixed type, of which several specimens have now come to light. First of all, I must mention a sculpture in the Mathurā Museum (No. C15, height 3′ 1″) which Mr. Growse[2] obtained from Kukargām in the Sa'dābād *tahsīl* (Plate LIV*b*). The lower portion of this figure beneath the knees is missing, but for the rest it is better preserved than the Chhargāon Nāga. Here the cup in the left hand is distinct. From the shoulder a wreath or festoon hangs down and must have reached beneath the knees. This long garland is a well-known feature of mediæval Brahmanical sculptures. The Nāga is characterised by a canopy of seven snake-heads, each provided with a forked tongue.

A third Nāga image, much defaced but similar in attitude to those just described, came from the village of Khāmni, 6 miles west of Mathurā on the road to Gōbardhan. It is also placed in the local Museum (No. C14, height 5′ 7″). Not far from the village of Itauli, 8 miles east of the same city, I saw the upper portion of a Nāga figure, about 4′ high, which is locally known by the name of *Bāi* and is placed at a tank called Bāi-kā Pōkhar. It is considerably worn, but may be safely ascribed to the Kushaṇa period.

The village of Baldēv, 8 miles south-east of Mathurā, derives its name from an image which is supposed to represent Baladēva or Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛishṇa, but which, to judge from the description, appears to be nothing but an ancient Nāga figure.

Likewise Pandit Radha Krishna succeeded in purchasing a Nāga statuette (No. C 21, height 9¼″) which was being worshipped in a shrine of Mathurā city as Dāuji, *i.e.*, Baladēva (Plate LIV*a*). This sculpture is of particular interest as it bears an inscription in Brāhmī of the Kushaṇa period which I read:—*Sa 52 va 3 di 25 Bhagava*[*ta*] "in the year 52, the 3rd month of the rainy season, the 25th day, (of) the Lord." This statuette is therefore only twelve years later in date than the Nāga of Chhargāon, though it is very inferior in style. Here the right hand is not raised over the head, but held against the shoulder with the palm to front. The left hand holds a small vessel. Thus the figure could be easily taken for a Maitrēya, were it not that the seven-headed serpent-hood clearly indicates a Nāga.

It is not a little curious that such ancient Nāga images found in the Mathurā district are now-a-days regularly worshipped as Dāuji or Baldēv. Modern images of this deity, which are manufactured in such large numbers at Mathurā and Brindāban, are nothing but imitations of the ancient Nāga figures. This will be evident at once from the white marble statuette purchased at Brindāban for the Mathura

[1] A similar formula occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the and of other Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushaṇa period. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. I, p. 386, no viii and IX, p. 240.

[2] *Mathurā* (3rd ed.) p. 169, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV (1875), Part I, p. 815, plate XIV.

Museum (No. D 36, height 1′ 5½″) and here reproduced (Plate LV, *b*). It is an unmistakable, though degenerate, descendant of the Chhargāon Nāga. The snake-hood is said to indicate that Baladēva was an incarnation of the Nāga Śēsha[1] and the cup in his left hand is explained as referring to his drinking propensities. But we may assume that these are explanations invented to make the ancient Nāga image suit its novel rôle of Baladēva. In the present instance the image was not fashioned after the legend, but the legend had to be shaped after the image.

Or may we go so far as to assert that the mythical personage of Baladēva was developed from a Nāga lord; in other words, can we trace the worship of a Nāga Baladēva or Balarāma which became absorbed into Krishnaism when this cult rose into prominence? And are we thus to interpret the tradition preserved in the Harivaṁśa which ascribes the origin of the snake-spell to Baladēva? It deserves notice that in a place in the *Mahābhārata* Baladēva is reckoned among [2]the Nāgas; and the *Vyutpatti* makes mention of a Nāgarāja of the same name. The complexion of Kṛishṇa is blue, but that of Baladēva is white, whilst his garment has the colour of the clouds. It is certainly a curious feature of the Kṛishṇa legend that Kṛishṇa should be called the younger brother of Baladēva, though undoubtedly he is at present the more important of the two. Baladēva, "the plough-bearer," is essentially an agricultural deity. So were the ancient Nāgas who are very closely connected with water —that element all-important for agriculture. In a modern Nāg temple at the village of Tur near Basu in Chambā State I have seen miniature wooden yokes which were given as offerings, whenever a young bull was yoked to the plough for the first time.

It seems indeed very natural that the Bhāgavatas, like the Buddhists before them, sought to adapt the popular worship of the Nāgas to their new religion. The Buddhists converted the Nāgas into devotees of the Lord Buddha. The worshippers of Kṛishṇa followed a different course. They declared the Nāga image to represent the elder brother of their divine hero. In both cases the conversion to the new faith was thus made easy, and the rural population could persist in worshipping the familiar snake-hooded idols under a different name.

The Nāga images which have been noticed appear all to belong to the Kushaṇa period, when evidently the cult of the Nāgas flourished in the Mathurā district side by side with Buddhism and Jainism. A relic of Nāga worship of a somewhat later date is a fragment in the Mathurā Museum (No. C 16, height 1′ 5″) which consists of the hind portion of a coiled-up snake carved in the round. The missing upper portion may have been a human bust provided with a snake-hood. The front face of the roughly dressed base contains a Sanskrit inscription in two lines which I read:—

Śr[ī] Aśvadēvasya Bhuvana-Tripravaraka-puttrasya.

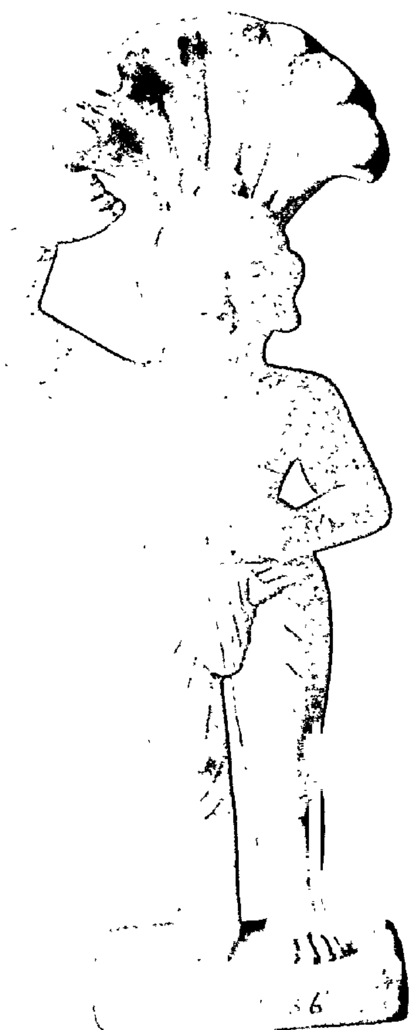
"[The gift] of Śrī Aśvadēva, the son of Bhuvana the Tripravaraka."

The character of this inscription shows a transition between Kushaṇa Brāhmī and Gupta, so that the sculpture may be ascribed to the 3rd century of our era. Pandit Radha Krishna obtained it from a place on the circumambulation road between the villages of Mahōlī and Usphahār, 3 and 5 miles respectively south-west of the city. The owner had made a mud figure on the top of the sculpture which he explained to the pilgrims as an effigy of Kṛishṇa subduing the Kaliyā Nāg.

[1] Cf. *Śēshasyāṁśaścha Nāgasya Baladēvō mahābalaḥ. Mahābh.* 1, 2786 (quoted B. R.)



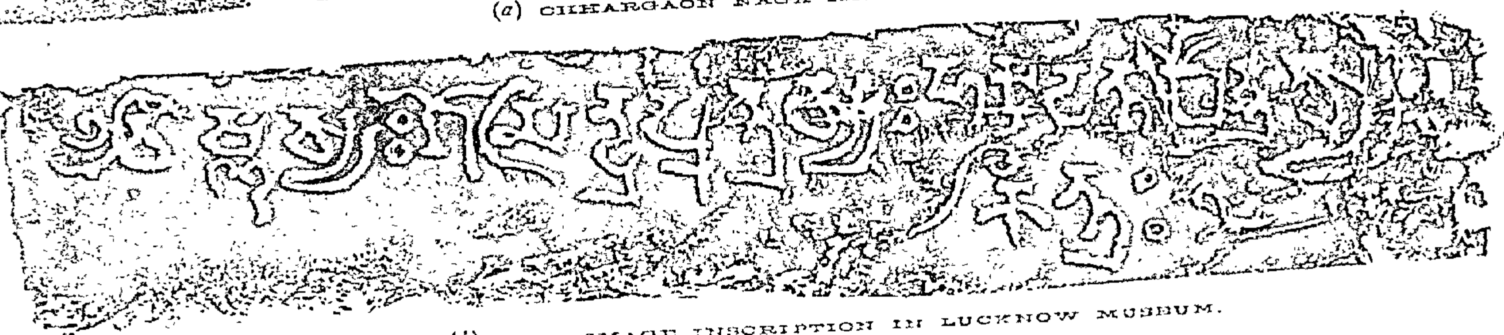
(*a*) NAGA FIGURE IN LUCKNOW MUSEUM.



(*b*) MODERN STATUETTE OF BALADEVA.

INSCRIPTIONS ON NAGA IMAGES.

(*a*) CHHARGAON NAGA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.



(*b*) NAGA IMAGE INSCRIPTION IN LUCKNOW MUSEUM.

Finally I must notice an inscribed Nāga statue in the Lucknow Museum (No. B 934, height 4′ 7″) which must belong to the Gupta period (Plate LV *a* and LVI *b*). The two arms are broken, but their position may have been similar to that of the inscribed statuette of the year 52 in the Mathurā Museum. The figure has the usual seven-headed hood, and long locks falling down on the shoulders, and wears a necklace and armlets, a *dhōtī* and a shawl thrown over the left arm. On his right side stands a Nāgī, about half his size, distinguished by a hood apparently of three snake-heads. She seems to hold some flowers in her left hand, the right arm being stretched down along the body. On the other side of the main figure we notice two kneeling figurines, male and female, with hands joined in adoration. These perhaps represent the donors of the sculpture.

On the base is an inscription (Plate LVI*b*) in Gupta character which I read :— *Ōṁ Vishṇusyaḥ Gōmindra-puttrasyaḥ Hastadatta-pauttrasyaḥ kittraḥ.*[1] "The glorious gift of Vishṇu, the son of Gōmindra, the grandson of Hastadatta."

Unfortunately the provenance of this image is unknown. It is placed among the Buddhist sculptures of the Lucknow Museum which nearly all originate from Mathurā, so that there is some reason to suppose that it also came from that place. Most of these sculptures were found in the excavation of the Jamālpur mound. May we assume that this image is a later effigy of that same Nāga Lord, Dadhikarṇa, who was once worshipped on that spot?

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] In this inscription the *visarga* is used to separate the words. The sacred syllable *ōṁ* is expressed by a symbol. The last word *kittraḥ* probably stands for *kīrtti*.

THE SECOND VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY; ITS VICEROYS AND MINISTERS.

IT has been shown in the first part of this article that the Sāḷuva usurpation, which put an end to the Saṁgama line (or, the First dynasty of the Vijayanagara kings), took place probably about Śaka 1408 (= A.D. 1486-87), and that Naraśiṅga, the usurper, while yet serving as a viceroy under the last sovereigns Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha and Prauḍhadēvarāya (Padea Rao) of that line, was gradually extending his sway over the empire which he eventually usurped.[1] Evidently, Narasiṅga was a powerful chief who must have baffled all attempts of the enemies of Vijayanagara—particularly those of the Bahmanī kings—to crush its extensive domain. His name was apparently better known to the enemy than those of the weak sovereigns whom he nominally served. It was perhaps in consequence of this that the Karṇāṭa kingdom came to be known in his time and also subsequently, to foreign travellers as the kingdom of "Narsymga."

Of Narasiṅga's reign Nuniz does not say much except that he ruled for 44 years and "left all the kingdom in peace." Epigraphical records discovered, so far, and dated prior to his usurpation do not disclose any of the political events which must necessarily have contributed to his rise in power, but only make mention of the usual gifts or charitable institutions bestowed by him on the temples at Tirumala[2] and other places, and of the improvements made to the temple of Tiruviḍaikaḷinātha (*i.e.* the modern Trivikrama-Perumāḷ) at Tirukoilur[3] in the South Arcot district. The *Oḍḍiyakalāpa*, or the invasion by the Oḍḍiya (*i.e.* the Gajapati king), however, which is referred to in two records from Jambai and Tirukoilur[4] as having happened during the reign of Mallikārjuna, shows that the Sāḷuva general Narasiṅga who was

[1] A. S. R., 1907-8, p. 253 f.

[2] Nos. 250 and 253 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

[3] No. 1 of the same collection for 1905. The work was actually carried out by Annamarasa who figures also as the signatory in a Kanarese record, dated in Śaka 1392, at Mēl-Sēvūr (No. 220 of 1904).

[4] No. 93 of the collection for 1906 and No 1 of 1905

powerful at the time, must have taken a prominent part already, in the defeat Mallikārjuna is stated to have inflicted on the allied armies of the Gajapati king and the Sulṭān of the South.[1] What substantial aid Narasiṅga received from his feudatories in this conquest of the Oḍḍiya cannot be gathered from inscriptions. In a record at Tirukkachchūr, dated in Śaka 1406, mention is, however, made of a certain Nāgama-Nāyaka who is called 'the foremost of the servants of Narasiṅgarāya.'[2] It is not unlikely that this Nāgama-Nāyaka is the father of Viśvanātha who founded the Nāyaka family of Madura and was perhaps one of the powerful feudatories of Narasiṅga. Chiṭṭi-Gaṅganna, the great grandfather's brother of Nādiṇḍla Appa—a contemporary of Kṛishṇarāya—is stated in the Telugu poem *Rājaśēkharacharitramu* of Mādayyagāri Mallanna, to have been a general of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha (*i.e.* the usurper Narasiṅga).[3] Áravīṭi Bukka of the Karṇāṭa family, of whom it is stated that he "firmly established even the kingdom of Sāḷuva-Nṛisiṁha"[4] may have also been a military officer of Narasiṅga. Inscriptions subsequent to the date of the usurpation (*i.e.* Śaka 1408), which can be assigned to the reign of Narasiṅga are very few. Telugu literature, however, supplies some interesting facts about Narasiṅga's reign. The *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* of Pillalamaṛṛi[5] Pina-Vīranna and the *Varāhapurāṇamu* of the joint authors Nandi-Mallayya and Ghanṭa-Siṅgayya are respectively dedicated to the Sāḷuva usurper Narasiṅga and to his Tuḷuva general Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, father of Kṛishṇarāya. The latter of the two poems specifically states that Narasiṅga had in his service, one after the other, the two Tuḷuva generals Īśvara and his son Narasiṁha (Narasaṇa-Nāyaka). The conquests of Narasiṅga and his generals which are narrated in these poems have been critically examined by Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu in his article on the Dēvulapalli plates of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha.[6] They confirm the statements of Nuniz and the Muhammadan historians, that Narasiṅga was constantly at war with the Mussalmans and saved the Vijayanagara kingdom from becoming an easy prey to them at a time when the weakness of its last emperors Mallikārjuna, Virūpāksha and his successors, afforded a favourable opportunity for the enemies to crush its power and annex it to their dominions.

Neither the Telugu poems nor epigraphical records tell us who the Sāḷuvas were from whom Narasiṅga and his ancestors traced their descent, what relation, if any, existed between them and the kings of the First dynasty of Saṁgama, and what again the connection was between the usurper Narasiṅga and his generals Īśvara and Narasiṁha (Narasaṇa-Nāyaka), who, though calling themselves members of a branch of the Yādava dynasty which ruled over the Tuḷuva country (*Tuḷuvēndra*),

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[1] A. S. R., 1907-8, p. 252.

[2] No. 318 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. It is perhaps this same Nāgama-Nāyaka that is mentioned as the donor in one of the Viriñchipuram inscriptions (No. 119 on p. 132 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I).

[3] Rao Bahadur Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu's "*Lives of Telugu Poets*," p. 210.

[4] See below, p. 197.

[5] Telugu scholars may be interested to learn that Pillalamaṛi also occurs as the family name of a certain Rāmarāju whose son Gaṅgayya wrote (*i.e.* composed) the record of Jūpalli-Śiṅgamanāyaḍu, a feudatory chief of Kṛishṇaraya, in Śaka 1416 (No. 326 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905).

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., p. 74f.

often identified themselves with the Sāḷuvas by adopting the very same family titles.[1] It is perhaps this similarity in epithets combined, as it is, with the similarity in names that has given rise to much confusion among previous writers on the subject, (1) as regards the distinction between the Sāḷuva usurper Narasiṅga and his son Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha[2] and (2) as between these and their Tuḷuva general Narasiṁha (Narasaṇa-Nāyaka) and his son Vīra-Narasiṁha. Chronology, however, helps us to distinguish them as four distinct sovereigns who ruled over the Vijayanagara kingdom between the Śaka years 1408 and 1431.

The earliest reference to Sāḷuva[3] in epigraphical records so far known, is in Sāḷuva Tikkamadēva who is mentioned as a general of the Sēuṇa king Rāmachandra (A. D. 1271 to 1310).[4] The descent of this chief which is described in a Harihar record [5] omits to give the origin of the word Sāḷuva but uses once the variant, Sāleya and by so doing raises a doubt if Tikkama's family name was correctly Sāḷuva or Sāleya.[6] In any case, it is not sure if the epithet Sāḷuva as applied to Tikkamadēva has anything to do with the Sāḷuvas of whom we are now speaking. [7] The next sure name we know of, is that of Sāḷuva-Maṅgu, who was a general of the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa II, in the Śaka year 1285 (= A. D. 1363)[8], and an ancestor of the usurper Narasiṅga, as will be seen from the genealogical table given below, on p. 168. The Telugu work *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* already referred to, says of this Sāḷuva Maṅgu, (1) that he subdued the Sulṭān of the south and made him feudatory to Sāmparāya ; (2) that in consequence of this he earned for himself the *biruda* 'establisher of Sāmparāya ;'[9] (3) that he set up the god of Śrīraṅga and presented for

[1] The titles *Mēdinimīsara*, *Gaṇḍakaṭṭāri* and *Sāḷuva-Sāḷuva* occur frequently as the *birudas* of the rulers of the Second Vijayanagara dynasty from the time of Narasaṇa-Nāyaka. It is consequently sometimes supposed that Timma of the Tuḷuva line is identical with Timma, the elder brother of the Sāḷuva usurper Narasiṅga. But there is no evidence to show that the latter was adopted by a chief of the Tuḷuva line.

[2] *Mr. Sewell does not recognise Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha as a separate ruler. Dr. Caldwell speaks of Kṛishṇarāya as having succeeded immediately after the period of usurpation by Narasiṅga.* The same is done by Mr. Rice in his treatment of the Vijayanagara dynasty, in his *Mysore Gazetteer*.

[3] The word Sāḷuva is not found in Sanskrit lexicons. It is perhaps of purely Draviḍian origin as the lingual *ḷ* in the second syllable naturally indicates ; and means according to the Telugu and Kannada dictionaries 'a hawk used in hunting'. The Dēvulapalli plates justify the application of the epithet *Sāḷuva* to Narasiṅga by saying that he acquired the *biruda* 'by smiting the crowd of (his) enemies as a (hawk), (*a flight of*) birds.' To this Mr. Ramayya Pantulu adds the footnote that by tradition Narasiṅga's ancestors were known to have served as *fowlers* to the kings of Karṇāṭa (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII., p. 84, footnote 3). One of the 56 Purāṇic tribes was called Sālva. The term is also referred to in Pāṇini and is supposed to denote a nation of the South. The Sālvas (in Tamil Śāluvas) were the enemies of Vishṇu and were 'regarded in Southern India as intruders' (Winslow) ; but, strangely enough, the early Sāḷuva kings appear to have been Vaishṇavas and are known to have richly endowed temples of Vishṇu.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 519 and p. 530.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI., Dg. 59.

[6] Sālaveya occurs in a fragmentary Kanarese record now preserved in the National Museum at Copenhagen (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-8, p. 92) as, probably, another name of Sāḷuva-Tikkama.

[7] Mr. Rice in his introduction to Vol. VIII. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, p. 13f., refers to a dynasty of Sāḷuvas who were ruling at Saṅgītapura in the Tuḷu country. Some of them were contemporaries of the Sāḷuva king Narasiṅga, but were Jainas by faith and belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra, while Narasiṅga and his ancestors were of the Ātrēya-gōtra and were disciples of the Vaishṇava teacher Tātāchārya (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX., p 330, footnote 8). At Mūḍabidure is an inscription of Sāḷva-Malla and his nephew Sāḷva-Dēva who might have been earlier members of the same family ruling at Nagiri with their dominion extending over Haiva and Koṅkaṇa. Chennādēvī of Bhaṭkaḷ, who was a feudatory of Sadāśiva, was perhaps a later member.

[8] No. 52 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[9] A certain Mallinādan Śambuvarāyar is mentioned in a record of Kampaṇa II from Kāvērippākkam in the North Arcot District (No. 390 of 1905). Perhaps the Sāmparāya whom Kampaṇa's general Sāḷuva-Maṅgu established, was this same Sumbuvarāyar or a member of that family.

the upkeep of that temple 60,000 *māḍas*[1] and (4) that he killed the Sulṭān of Madhura giving wide renown to the title *para-pakshi-sāḷuva*, *i.e.* 'a hawk (*sāḷuva*) to the birds—the hostile kings.' Of these titles of Sāḷuva-Maṅgu, some at least were appropriated in later times by other members of the Sāḷuva family whose rule in different parts of the Vijayanagara empire—sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as semi-independent chiefs, is evidenced by the existence of stray epigraphical records. In the first part of this article, Sāḷuva Tipparāja-Oḍeya, the brother-in-law of king Dēvarāya II and his son Gopparāja were mentioned to have served as Vijayanagara viceroys. They were ruling the country about Tēkal in the Mysore State and the North Arcot district, shortly after the period to which Sāḷuva-Maṅgu belonged. Tipparāja in the Tēkal records receives the titles 'the setter up of Sambarāya', *etc.*, which Sāḷuva-Maṅgu obtains in the *Jaimini-Bhāratamu*. Another Sāḷuva chief that claimed similar titles was Sāḷuva Saṁgamadēva-Mahārāja, who was ruling somewhere in the south probably as a contemporary of Narasiṅga and a subordinate of Prauḍhadēva-Mahārāya (Padea Rao). This Saṁgamadēva (Śaka 1403) is stated in two records from Aṉbil (Trichinopoly district)[2] to have been 'the establisher of Śamburāya (Sāmparāya)', 'a hawk to birds, *viz.* (enemy) kings,' 'the conqueror of the Sulṭān of the South,' *etc.* Other Sāḷuva chiefs whose names are found in inscriptions, but whose relation to the main branch to which Narasiṅga belonged has not yet been made out clearly, are: (1) Sāḷuva Parvatarāja son of Sāḷuvarāja who in Śaka 1387 (=A.D. 1465) built a *maṇḍapa* in the temple on the hill at Tirupati;[3] (2) Sāḷuva Śiṟumallaiyadēva-Mahārāja, son of Malagaṅgayadēva-Mahārāja who in Śaka 1372 (=A.D. 1450) made a gift of 1,200 *paṇam* to the same temple;[4] (3) Sāḷuva Erra-Kampayadēva-Mahārāja who in Śaka 1368 (=A.D. 1446) made a similar gift;[5] (4) Sāḷuva Gōpa-Timmanṛipati or Sāḷuva Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja (Śaka 1385)[6] and Sāḷuva Gōpa-Tippa *alias* Tripurāntaka (Śaka 1390)[7] of whom the former is known to have made rich gifts of jewels and villages to the temples at Śrīraṅgam and Jambukēśvaram near Trichinopoly and the latter, to have set up a flag staff at Rāmēśvaram gilt with gold, and (5) Timmarāja or Śiṟu-Tirumalairāja, a son perhaps of the Sāḷuva [Śiṟu]mallaiyadēva, who made a grant to the temple on Tirumala, in Śaka 1403 (=A.D. 1481).[8] The epithets applied to Teluṅgurāya in a record from the Bāpaṭla tāluka, make it appear that he and his father Samburāya of Kannaḍa-dēśa (*i.e.* the Karṇāṭa country) were also of Sāḷuva descent.[9] A genealogical table of that branch of the Sāḷuvas with which Narasiṅga was directly connected, as derived from the Dēvulapalli plates, the Telugu poems *Jaimini-*

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[1] This may be a reference to the reconsecration of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam mentioned in a record of Goppaṇārya (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., pp. 322 ff) who, like Sāḷuva-Maṅgu, was also a general of Kampaṇa II. Perhaps the credit of setting up Raṅganātha was shared by both the generals equally, as also by Kampaṇa himself.

[2] Nos. 593 and 594 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902.

[3] No. 251 of the same collection for 1904.

[4] No. 252 ditto.

[5] No. 254 ditto.

[6] No. 59 of the collection for 1892 and No. 67 of 1903.

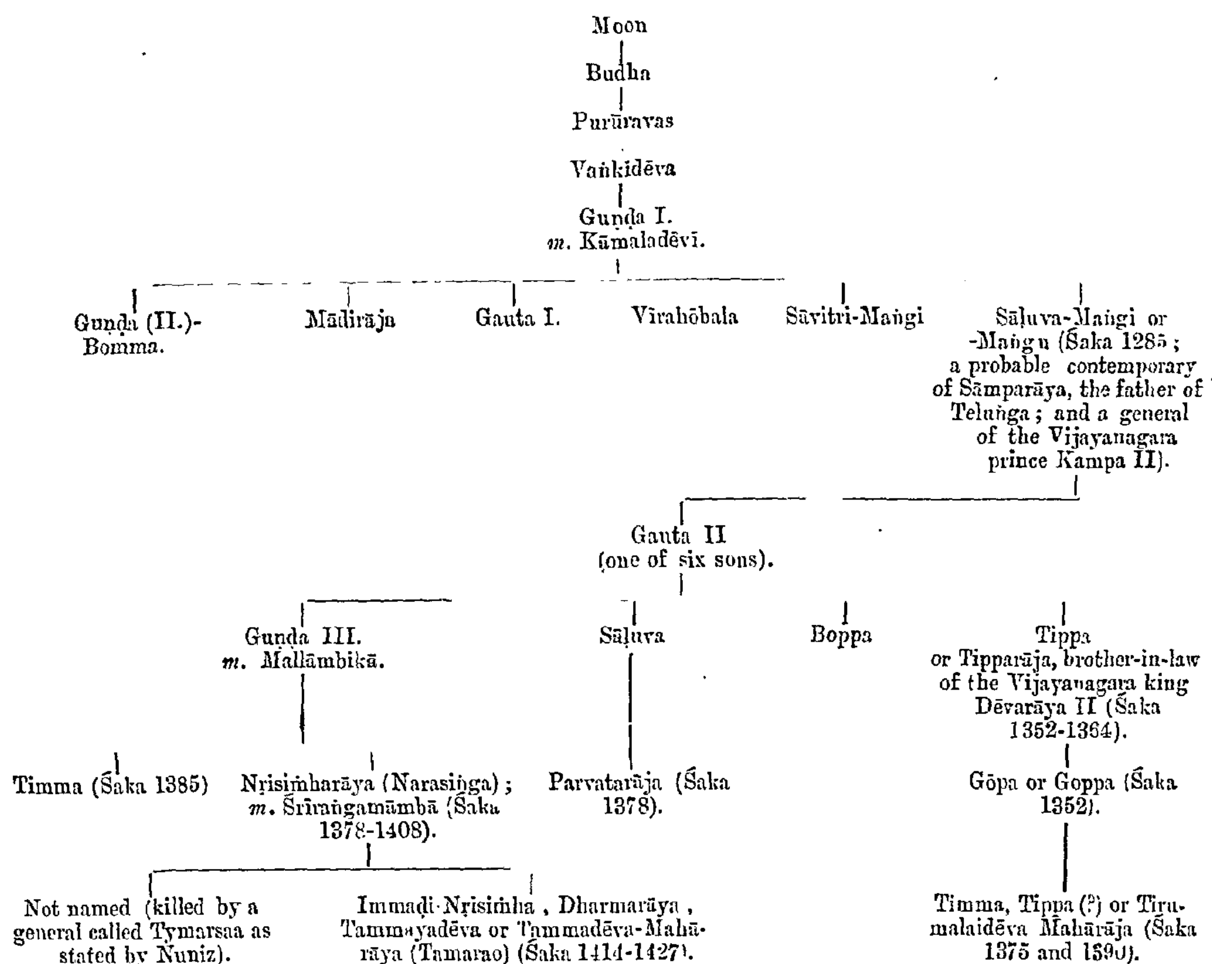
[7] No. 89 of the collection for 1905 and No. 56 of 1897.

[8] No. 57 of the collection for 1889 and No. 257 of 1904.

[9] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 84. A Siṁhāchalam record mentions this same Teluṅgurāya, son of Samburāya of the Kannaḍa country (No. 293 of 1899); and the Telugu poet Śrīnātha apparently makes reference to him in the phrase "*Sāmparāyani-Teluṅgā.*"

Bhāratamu and the *Varāhapurāṇamu* and from inscriptions, is appended for reference :—

Pedigree of the Sāḷuvas.



It has been stated by Nuniz that the usurper Narasiṅga died leaving the kingdom which he had 'acquired at the point of his sword,' in charge of his trusted general Narasiṁha (generally known as Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, Narasā-Nāyaka or Narasa) to be made over to his infant sons after they came of age. According to the same chronicler the first of the two sons was murdered at the instance of a certain Tymarsaa[1] who in his turn was killed by Narasā-Nāyaka. The second prince Tamarao was raised to the throne by the faithful minister, but kept under strict control in the fortress at Penugoṇḍa on account of his tender age. About Śaka 1424 Tamarao appears to have been deprived of even this nominal power either by Narasā-Nāyaka himself or by his son Vīra-Narasiṁha, who must have succeeded to the throne in that year.[2] The statement, however, of the Muhammadan historians and of Nuniz that Narasa

[1] For the identification of this Tymarsaa with a certain Timmarasa, son of *Tribhuvanakaṭṭāri* Bommayadēva-Mahārāya; see *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1908-9, p. 117, paragraph 68.

[2] See below, p. 171.

killed both the sons of Narasiṅga before he usurped the throne for himself, is rendered unlikely by the Dēvulapalli plates, which are dated in Śaka 1427 and record a gift by Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha probably subsequent to his deposition. The name Tamarao, is evidently a corruption of Tammayadēva-Mahārāya or Dharmarāya which occurs in inscriptions as a surname of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁhadēva-Mahārāya.[1] In the records of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha the place of honour is generally given to Narasaṇa-Nāyaka who is invariably referred to, either as a generalissimo in charge of the whole army of the Vijayanagara kingdom, or as an Agent managing the State affairs for Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha from the capital Vijayanagara.[2] Records of the latter are found distributed over the Cuddapah, Anantapur, South Canara, Trichinopoly and Madura Districts of the Madras Presidency and the Mysore State. Under orders of 'Lord' Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, the province of Bārakūr was at this time governed by Sādhāraṇadē[va*]-Oḍeya.[3] Nagira-rājya which included within it Haiva and Koṅkaṇa was in charge of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sāḷuva Dēvarāya-Voḍeya, who in Śaka 1422 made a grant, for his own merit, to the temple of Dhārēśvara in the Kumpta tāluka of the North Canara District,[4] and in Śaka 1424, made another gift to the same temple for the 'longevity, health, wealth, kingdom and victory' of *Mēdinimīsara Gaṇḍakaṭṭāri Triṇētra-Sāḷuva* Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, son of Yīsarappa-Nāyaka (*i.e.* Īśvara).[5] Mukti-nāḍu which formed, perhaps, a part of the modern Cuddapah District, was conferred as a *jāghīr* on Bokkasam Timmānāyiniṅgāru who, in his turn, appears to have appointed his brother-in-law Suṅkayya for the collection of tolls in that District.[6] Bokkasam Timmānāyuḍu is not mentioned elsewhere in epigraphical records. I would provisionally identify him with the general "Timapanarque" in whom, according to Nuniz, Narasaṇa-Nāyaka "much confided."[7] Again, Sarnappa-Nāyini Dēvinēni (*i.e.* Dēvinēni, son of Sarnappa-Nāyuḍu) is mentioned in a record from Nandalūr in the Cuddapah District, to have been governing from his capital Ghaṇḍikōṭa, the province of Pottapi-nāṇḍu, which included in it (?) the districts of Sirvēl, Siddhavaṭṭam, *etc.*, his chief executive officer

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[1] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909-10, p. 114.

[2] See *e.g.* No. 615 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907. Two chiefs besides Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, who were evidently also important personages in this reign were, a certain Ayyaṉ Sōmaya Viramarasar, 'Lord of the Southern Ocean' (No. 664 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909) and a certain Tipparaśar Ayyaṉ for whose merit gifts were made by the chief Ēppuli-Nāyaka, at Pirāṉmalai in the Madura District, in the Śaka year 1422 (=A.D. 1500-1) (Nos. 139 and 151 of 1903). From a record at Maggo in the Heggaḍadēvankōṭe tāluka of the Mysore District (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 74) we learn that in Śaka 1419, a certain Tipparasa Ayyanavaru was holding the office of 'Chief Minister of the household (*mancya-praadhāna*) under Sāḷuva-Narasiṅgarāya. There can be little doubt about the identity of the two individuals—Tipparasa—mentioned in the Pirāṉmalai and Maggo records; but it is not certain exactly what position Tipparasa held in the Government of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The wording of the Maggo record suggests that he was the Governor of that part of the Mysore country which was then subject to Vijayanagara. Tipparaśa-Uḍaiyar, perhaps identical with Tipparaśar-Ayyaṉ, is also mentioned in the Buḍḍireḍḍipaṭṭi inscription of Tammayadēva (Tamarao) (No. 155 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905). One of the epigraphs in the Mārgasahāyēśvara temple at Viriñchipuram mentions a certain Periya-Timm araśa-Uḍaiyar who may have also been a chief subordinate of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁharāya. Virūpākshadēva-Aṇṇagaḷu, like Tipparasa Ayyanavaru, is stated in Ng. 59 of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., to have been a *mancya-pradhāna* of Sāḷuva-Narasiṅgarāja (father of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha), in Śaka 1407.

[3] No. 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[4] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Appendix A, No. 31.

[5] *Ibid.* No. 32.

[6] No. 516 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. It may incidentally be observed that these tolls as specified for the town of Muttukūru, included fees on marriages, carts, horses, maid-servants and professions.

[7] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 310.

being his own son, Parvata-Nāyuḍu.[1] Madurai-maṇḍalam, *i.e.* the country around Madura, appears also at this time, as a province of the Vijayanagara kingdom governed by a chief who was under the direct orders of Narasaṇa-Nāyaka.[2] Thus from the large area over which the Sāḷuva king Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha is represented to have ruled, either actually or nominally under the direction of his able general and minister Narasā-Nāyaka, the inference is clear that during the short interval of Sāḷuva usurpation the Vijayanagara supremacy did not suffer in dominion, but extended over a very large portion of Southern India.

What has been recorded of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha in the foregoing paragraph applies equally to his general Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, who actually conducted the affairs of State in the name of Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha. In the numerous copper-plates and lithic records of Narasā-Nāyaka's successors, who are distinguished in history as kings of the Second or Tuḷuva dynasty, a regular account is given of the mythical and historical ancestry of these kings; and herein, some interesting details are registered of the general Narasa. It is stated that the most famous of the chiefs of Tuḷuva, born of the race of Yadu, was Timma. His son was Īśvara whose fame for liberality was known 'from Sētu (Rāmēśvaram) to the Himāchala, from the eastern to the western ocean.' From Īśvara was born Narasa "who quickly bridged the Kāvērī (*though*) it consisted of a rapid current of copious water, crossed over it, straightway captured alive in battle with the strength of his arm the enemy, brought Tanjore and (*the city of*) Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa under his power and set up a pillar of fame—his heroic deeds being praised in the three worlds (*which appeared to be*) the palace (*of his glory*)."[3] It is also said of him that he conquered the Chēra, Chōḷa, Mānabhūsha[4] the lord of Madhurā, the brave Turushka, the Gajapati and other kings.

Narasā-Nāyaka made gifts also 'at Rāmēśvara and every other shrine on earth which abounds in sacredness.'[5] Professor Hultzsch, from whose translation of the Hampe inscription I have extracted the above, is of opinion that the verses which record this boasted prowess of Narasa are only repetitions from an "office copy."[6] Consequently it appears doubtful how far this eulogy of Narasa could be trusted for the purposes of history. But from what has been stated above it is clear that Madurai-maṇḍalam—the Pāṇḍya country proper—was actually a Vijayanagara province at the time of which we are now speaking, and that Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha's inscriptions in different districts of Southern India, clearly prove that he and his Tuḷuva regent Narasaṇa held sway over almost the whole of the Chōḷa country. Nor can the fight of Narasa with the Gajapati and the Turushka

[1] No. 615 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907; it may be noted that in this record the chief Dēvinēni is called "the establisher of Toṇḍa-maṇḍala."

[2] No. 39 of the collection for 1908.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 367, verse 10. *Taṁcha-rājya* is interpreted as 'Tanjore kingdom;' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 151 add.

[4] Mānakavacha was the surname of a Pāṇḍya king called Arikēsari Parākrama-Pāṇḍya who ruled from A.D. 1422 to 1464. It is consequently doubtful if Mānabhūsha of the Vijayanagara copper plates, is a reference to this Mānakavacha, as stated on p. 330 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX. Probably he is identical with Mānābharaṇa (Mānabhūsha) who was an earlier member of the family to which Mānakavacha belonged. Mānābharaṇa occurs frequently also as a name or surname of some Ceylon sovereigns.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 367, verse 12.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 362. It is evident that in this description of Saṅgama, where the "office copy" of the verses in question is supposed to occur, the eulogy is misapplied; for, we know that Saṁgama did not rule actually.

kings be disbelieved, since the Sāḷuva usurper Narasiṅga, of whom Narasa was a general, must actually have fought with the Oḍḍiya and the Muhammadan before establishing himself on the Vijayanagara throne. The Telugu poem *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*[1] speaks of him as having captured Vidyāpura (perhaps Bījapur?) from the king of the Kuntala country, deprived the Muhammadan lord of his great pride by taking from him the fortress of Mānavadurga,[2] killed the Chōḷa, seized Madhurāpura, fought a battle at Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa and established his fame by bestowing gifts at Râmasētu (*i.e.* Rāmēśvaram).[3] Besides, Narasa's father, Īśvara is described in the *Varāhapurāṇamu*[4] as having conquered the forts of Udayādri, Huttari, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Penugoṇḍa, Beggulūru, Kōvelanellūru, Kundāṇi, Godugu-chinta, Bāgūru, Naragoṇḍa, Āmūru and Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa, and to have 'destroyed the cavalry of the Yavanas of Bedandakōṭa at Gaṇḍikōṭa.'[4] This description, which mentions the names of places actually captured is, probably, not fanciful. And it is not unlikely that Narasa may have also taken part in these conquests by the side of his father Īśvara and his master Sāḷuva Narasiṅga. Consequently, it may safely be accepted, that Narasā-Nāyaka, though he did not formally occupy the throne of Vijayanagara, was nevertheless the *de facto* ruler of almost the whole of Southern India. Nuniz also confirms the eulogy found in copper plates when he states that Narasā-Nāyaka "made war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted."[5]

Narasa, according to Nuniz, left five sons;[6] but inscriptions mention only four, *viz.* Vīra-Narasiṁha, Kṛishṇarāya, Raṅga and Achyutarāya.[7] The eldest of these, Vīra-Narasiṁha, who corresponds to 'Busbalrao' of Nuniz[8] ruled for 6 years and was succeeded by his half-brother Kṛishṇarāya. As Kṛishṇarāya's accession to the throne will be shown in the sequel, to have happened about the end of Śaka 1431, his brother Vīra-Narasiṁha, who ruled 6 years before him, must have ascended the throne in or about Śaka 1424. In the copper plate grant from Dhārēśvara noted already, Sāḷuva Narasaṇa- (*i.e.* Narasā-)Nāyaka, son of Yīsarappa (Īśvara), is referred to as still living in Śaka 1424, Durmati, the month Bhādrapada, whereas in a record from Bārakūru,[9] dated in the same Śaka year Durmati, *but* in the month Māgha, we are informed that Vīra-Narasiṅgarāya was ruling from the throne of Vijayanagara. Consequently, we have perhaps to infer that Narasa died in the latter part of Śaka 1424 and left his son Vīra-Narasiṁha to succeed to the throne. Mr. Sewell records a few inscriptions of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya from the Cuddapah

[1] Rao Bahadur Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu's "*Lives of Telugu Poets*" (Chintamani Press Edition of 1899), p. 171.

[2] The taking of Mānavadurga by Narasa is also mentioned in the poem *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* (I. 29). Instead of the Chōḷa of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, it mentions the Marava king and records also a new fact, *viz.*, the capture of a chief called Kōnēṭirāja.

[3] Śrīraṅgarāja, the father of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty, is also stated to have helped Nṛisiṁharāja (Narasaṇa-Nāyaka) in his contests against the Muhammadans; see below, p. 197.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., p. 78.

[5] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 310.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 314.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 3, Table.

[8] An inscription from Hoṇakanahaḷḷi in the Guṇḍlupēṭ tāluka, (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 67), dated in Śaka 1426, calls the king Bhujabala Pratāpa-Narasiṁharāya. This *biruda* Bhujabala may in all probability have been transliterated by the Portuguese chronicler as 'Busbal'; see also *ibid.* Vol. III., Ml. 95, dated in Śaka 1428.

[9] No. 152 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

and Kurnool districts, which are dated between the years Śaka 1424 and 1429.[1] These do not speak of the regent Narasaṇa-Nāyaka and cannot, therefore, be mistaken for those of the Sāḷuva king Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha, though in Śaka 1427 (the date of the Dēvulapalli plates) we find Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha still living and making a grant of a village in the Penugoṇḍa-rājya. Further epigraphical researches alone must show the exact political relationship that existed between the ruling king Vīra-Narasiṁharāya of the Tuḷuva dynasty and the deposed Sāḷuva prince Immaḍi-Nṛisiṁha.

We have not on record many inscriptions of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya. Those mentioned by Mr. Sewell have not yet been critically examined. Three records from Bārakūru (South Canara),[2] Tāḍpatri (Anantapūr)[3] and Jambai (South Arcot),[4] mention a few of Vīra-Narasiṁha's subordinates. These were Basavarasa-Oḍeya ruling the Bārakūru-rājya, the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma yaśōḷa-Mahārāja, one of the Uṛaiyūr Chōḷas of the Solar race and Sāḷuva-Timmarasa, the *mahāpradhāna* of the king. At Rāmēśvaram near Prodduṭūr (Cuddapah) is a record dated in Śaka 1430, Vibhava[5], which does not refer to any ruling king, but mentions gifts made to the temple of Rāmayadēva by Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja,[6] son of Rāchirāja of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, Āpastamba-*sūtra* and the Yajuś-*śākhā*, for the merit of Vīra-Nārasiṁharāya and Sāḷuva-Timmaya.[7] On Friday the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1431, Śukla, Vīra-Narasiṁharāya was still ruling at Vijayanagara, when his *mahāpradhāna* Sāḷva-Timmayyaṅgāru made a grant of a village in Gutti-rājya to the temple of Rāmēśvara at Tāḍiparati.[8] This Sāḷva-Timmayya, of whom more will be said in the sequel, is the famous minister that played so prominent a part in state politics during the reigns of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya and his successor, the great Kṛishṇarāya. Sāḷuva-Timma's parentage, as given in the Koṇḍavīḍu inscription.[9] shows that Sāḷuva-Gōvindarāja of the Rāmēśvaram and Mōpūr records must have been identical with the Guandaja or Gandarājo [10] mentioned by Nuniz as a brother of Sāḷuva-Timma and holding an important executive function in one of the provinces of the Vijayanagara empire.

Before going into the reign of Kṛishṇarāya it may be useful to see what copper plates and Nuniz have to say about Vīra-Narasiṁha. The former praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts at various sacred places such as Rāmēśvaram, Śrīraṅgam, Kumbhakōṇam, Chidambaram, Śōṇaśaila (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), Kāñchī, Kāḷahasti, Śrīśaila, Ahōbala, Mahānandi, Nivṛitti, Harihara and Gōkarṇa.[11] But

[1] Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 128.

[2] No. 152 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[3] No. 343 of the collection for 1892.

[4] No. 94 of 1906.

[5] No. 389 of 1904.

[6] No. 340 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1892 states that the same Sāḷuva-Gōvindarājayya made a grant of a village in Gutti-rājya in Śaka 1435.

[7] A damaged epigraph from Mōpūru in the Cuddapah district (No. 501 of 1906) also records a grant for the merit of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya and Sāḷva-Timmayya.

[8] No. 342 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 234, verse 11.

[10] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 359, and p. 361, note 1.

[11] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 368, verses 16 and 17

Nuniz says that during the 6 years of his rule Busbalrao was always at war: for, as soon as his father was dead, the whole land revolted under its captains; and that about the time of his death, in order to secure the throne for his own son, he issued the cruel order that the eyes of his step-brother Kṛishṇarāya should be put out.[1] Whatever the estimate of Nuniz may be of Vīra-Narasiṁha's character he seems to be certainly right when he says that the whole land revolted on Narasā-Nāyaka's death. In an inscription from the Kadur district (Mysore)[2], we are told of an expedition carried into the Tuḷu-rājya by Bhujabala-Mahārāya (*i.e.* Busbalrao) in order perhaps to quell the rebellious feudatories of that province, one of whom, at least, the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya is stated in the record to have been quite anxious about the continuance of his petty estate. The Mussalman Governor at Goa, according to the Italian traveller Varthema, was at war with Narasiṁha of Vijayanagara, about the year A. D. 1506.[3] The Ummattūr chiefs in the eastern part of the Mysore country must also have grown powerful, if they had not actually revolted, and must have held permanent rule (*sthira-rājya*) at Terkaṇāmbi (Guṇḍlupēṭ tāluka) and the surrounding country.[4] Other petty chieftains of Mysore also cannot have kept the peace;[5] else, as we shall see in the sequel there would have been no necessity for Kṛishṇarāya to have gone on a victorious tour immediately after his coronation to put down these petty rulers. For the same reason, too, we may not be far wrong, if we infer that the Gajapati king had carried his influence far into the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom and had held the fortresses of Koṇḍavīḍu and Udayagiri which were situated in the Karṇāṭa country.[6] The Muhammadan kings of Bījapūr also could not but have found the Tuḷuva usurpation by Narasaṇa-Nāyaka, or rather, by his son Vīra-Narasiṁharāya a favourable opportunity to pounce once again on their natural enemies, the Hindū kings of Vijayanagara.

At this stage of history, despite the intrigues and jealousies that placed obstacles in the way of his succeeding to the throne, Kṛishṇarāya, the second son of Narasā-Nāyaka and the last great Hindu sovereign of Southern India, prior to

[1] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 314 f. Tradition in the Telugu country attributes the jealousy and the consequent cruel order to Tippādēvī, the mother of Vīra-Narasiṁha; for, it is believed that Nāgalādēvī her co-wife, was not born of high caste, but, nevertheless, continued to be more in favour with king Narasa than herself.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI., Mg. 41. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Sewell for correcting my interpretation (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 174) of this important inscription. Certainly, the campaign of Bhujabalarāya against the Tuḷu country was a *past* event at the time of the record and Yimmaḍi Bhairarasa-Oḍeya's original prayer to the god at Kaḷasa must have been fulfilled at that time. It cannot be conceded, however, as Mr. Rice would take it, that the campaign by Bhujabala is a reference to Kṛishṇarāya's conquest of the Tuḷu country.

[3] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 118.

[4] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1908-9, p. 117, and that for 1909-10, p. 114. The *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ* appears also to refer to the revolt of feudatory chiefs subsequent to the death of the Tuḷuva usurper Narasaṇa-Nāyaka and to the unsuccessful campaign of his son Vīra-Narasiṁha, against Ummattūr. An inscription from the Maḷavaḷḷi tāluka of the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Ml. 95) states that the Ummattūr chief Mallarāja bore, in the time of [Vīra]-Narasiṁha in Śaka 1428, the *Chikkarāyapaṭṭa*. This term perhaps indicates that the weak king, recognising the power of the Ummattūr chief, had almost raised him to the position of a crown-prince (*yuvarāja* or, in Kanarese, *chikkarāya*).

[5] In Śaka 1426 the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōvaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, styled himself 'the conqueror of the three kings,' 'the rescuer of Nīlagiri,' and was holding Mūḍaṇakōṭe (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Nj. 47).

[6] No. 269 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 says that Udayagiri was in the centre of *Karṇāṭa-kāṭaka*.

the occupation by the British, was crowned to rule the Vijayanagara empire, solely through the exertions of his able family minister Sāḷuva-Timmarasa, on or about the 14th day of his bright fortnight of Māgha in the cyclic year Śukla which corresponded to Śaka 1431 (=A.D. 1509-10).[1] According to Telugu tradition Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have been born on Friday the 12th of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Vikṛiti which corresponded to Śaka 1387.[2] This would make him about 45 years old when he was crowned, which is very unlikely. According to more reliable accounts Kṛishṇarāya was nearing that age when he died.[3] There is still another tradition which says that he was born in Śaka 1409 (=A.D. 1487).[4] This latter appears to be nearer the truth as it agrees with the statement of Nuniz that the king was over twenty years when he succeeded to the Vijayanagara throne.

Epigraphical materials for re-constructing the history of Kṛishṇarāya's reign are abundant. Hundreds of copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his time are found all over the Presidency. Mr. Sewell's exhaustive account based on the chronicles of the Portuguese travellers, Paes and Nuniz, the Muhammadan historians and other European tourists and on the inscriptions examined by him in the course of his preparation of Vols. I and II of the *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, is, of all treatises, by far the most valuable and interesting. It throws direct light upon the religious, social and political features of Kṛishṇarāya's rule which are of the highest value for a clear understanding of the times. In his "Lives of Telugu Poets" (written in Telugu) Rao Bahadur Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu has dwelt at great length on the progress of Telugu literature under the patronage of that benign sovereign who was himself a poet and an author.[5] Besides these, we have the quasi-historical work of the Telugu poet Veṅkaṭārya *alias* Kumāra-Dhūrjaṭi, which is exclusively devoted to Kṛishṇarāya's victorious tours and is hence entitled *Kṛishṇarājavijayamu*. As the reign of Kṛishṇarāya is an important epoch in South-Indian literature, arts and culture, in religion and philosophy and in social and economical progress, I plead no apology for putting together the information which I have been able to gather from available inscriptions of Kṛishṇarāya's brilliant rule and conquests.

As already stated, Kṛishṇarāya succeeded to the throne about the end of Śaka 1431. This is recorded in an inscription from Hampe, which also supplies the information that on the occasion of his coronation Kṛishṇarāya "built in front of the shrine (of Virūpāksha) a large assembly-hall (*raṅga-maṇḍapa*) and a *gōpura* before it, caused to be repaired the great *gōpura* in front of that, and gave to the holy Virūpākshadēva a golden lotus, set with the nine (*kinds of*) gems and a snake

[1] This is the date of the coronation (*paṭṭābhishēka*) as given in the Hampe inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 370); it will be shown below that it actually happened a few months earlier.

[2] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 170. According to the *Indian Calendar* this is wrong by six years. Vikṛiti would be Śaka 1392, expired.

[3] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 158.

[4] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 169.

[5] Part IV of Gurujāḍa Śrīrāmamūrti Pantulu's *Kavijīvitamulu* (Madras Edition of Ś. S. 1818) contains also an exhaustive Telugu account of Kṛishṇarāya's rule based on Telugu literature, the Tamil chronicle *Koṅgudēśarājākkaḷ* and Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*. Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadrarau has also issued from the Manjuvani Press, Ellore (1903), a book entitled *Kṛishṇadēvarāya Charitram* which, on the model of the *Forgotten Empire*, supplies information collected from the accounts of foreign travellers and Muhammadan historians.

ornament."[1] The eulogy of Kṛishṇarāya which is registered in this inscription shows that the record must have been actually drawn up some years after the coronation, by which time, at least, as will be seen in the sequel, he had conquered the Gajapati king, had extended his charities to the temples of Veṅkaṭādri (Tirumala), Śōṇāchala (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai), Kanakasabhā (Chidambaram) and others, and had earned the title, "a second Bhōja"[2] evidently after having composed, perhaps, the Telugu poem *Āmuktamālyadā*. Professor Hultzsch, who has edited the inscription under reference, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, is doubtful if the date given in the Kanarese portion of the record is the actual date of the coronation or only its anniversary. We have seen above that Kṛishṇarāya's brother Vīra-Narasiṁha was still ruling in the month Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 1431, Śukla. A record[3] from Pulivendla (Cuddapah), dated in Śaka 1431, Śukla, but in the month Kārttika, states that Kṛishṇarāya was ruling on the throne at Vijayanagara. Consequently the date of the Hampe epigraph, though it may not exactly be the date of the coronation as already suspected by Professor Hultzsch, could not, in any case, be the anniversary of Kṛishṇarāya's *paṭṭābhishēka*. In all likelihood the king's coronation took place some time between the months of Vaiśākha and Kārttika in the cyclic year Śukla (corresponding to A.D. 1509-10), and the gifts made on that occasion were recorded on the Hampe stone after some interval.[4] As soon as he was crowned king Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have "stayed in the City of Bisnaga for a year and a half without going outside of it, learning the affairs of the kingdom and looking at the testaments of past kings."[5] From these he came to understand that the three fortresses of Medegulla (Mudkal), Rracholl (Raichur) and Odigair (Udayagiri) had remained unconquered by the usurper Narasiṅga, who, as noted already, had, on the decline of the first dynasty, restored the Vijayanagara kingdom to its original extent and power. Kṛishṇarāya was determined to acquire these unsubdued fortresses and made the necessary preparations. Meanwhile, nearer home, there appear to have been certain rebellious feudatories who had to be chastised first. These were the Ummattūr chiefs who had grown to be almost independent of Vijayanagara and were, as heirs-presumptive to the *Chikkarāyapaṭṭa*, holding in their possession a pretty large portion of the kingdom, under the title *Penugoṇḍachakrēśvara*.[6] The Amarāvati inscription of Kṛishṇarāya is the only record which refers to Kṛishṇarāya's conquest of Śivanasamudra—a stronghold of the Ummattūr chiefs—prior to his capture of Udayagiri. Professor Lüders, who has published this record in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. VII, pp. 17 to 22), quotes confirmatory evidence from the accounts of foreign travellers and Muhammadan historians to prove that the Ummattūr chiefs were the first to be reduced by Kṛishṇarāya. The capture of the

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 370.

[2] Mr. Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu says that Kṛishṇarāya earned the name Āndhra-Bhōja inasmuch as he patronised Telugu (Āndhra) literature as Bhōja of old did Sanskṛit. It is also stated that many Sanskṛit works were composed by the king which are no longer extant (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 176f).

[3] No. 491 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[4] A similar instance is provided by a record found in the "Underground" temple at Vijayanagara. It registers in Śaka 1435, grants to the temple of Prasanna-Virūpāksha which were actually made on the occasion of the king's coronation.

[5] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

[6] Above, p. 173, footnote 4; and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV. Gu. 67.

fortress of Śivaṁsamudram (Śivanasamudra) is also mentioned in the Telugu poem *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* of Nandi-Timmanna.[1] That Nuniz, who has so very carefully chronicled the historical events of Kṛishṇarāya's reign, omitted to mention this early military exploit of the king, seems rather strange. It may possibly be that the event was not considered by him to be one of sufficient importance to deserve being chronicled.

Having put down the rebellious chiefs nearer home, Kṛishṇarāya is next stated to have set out on a victorious tour towards the east—the apparent causes being, as mentioned above, the testament of the Sāḷuva usurper Narasiṅgarāya and the encroachment made on the Karṇāṭa dominion by the Gajapati and the Muhammadan kings. Kṛishṇarāya must have had in contemplation a complete conquest of the Gajapati—who, by the bye, appears to have been his inveterate foe. This is directly hinted in two records from Nāgalāpuram (Chingleput district) which register a request preferred by a private person to Kṛishṇarāya, to endow a temple *after* his victorious return from the expedition against the Gajapati.[2] According to Nuniz "the king (Kṛishṇarāya) laid siege to it (Udayagiri) for a year and a half" before taking it.[3] Two records at Kṛishṇāpuram (near Hampe)[4] and three others at Tirumala,[5] refer to Śaka 1436, Bhāva, as the date of his return from the conquest of Udayagiri. Consequently, Kṛishṇarāya must have spent at least the first two years of his reign in preparations and in settling internal affairs and in the third, *i.e.*, Śaka 1434 or thereabout,[6] started against the fortress of Udayagiri, which was evidently then in the possession of the Gajapati. The tri-lingual inscriptions from Tirumala vividly describe how Kṛishṇarāya "started on a military expedition against Pratāparudra Gajapati, crushed and pierced (*i.e.*, drove) him as far as Koṇḍavīḍu, took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri, and on his way back to the capital of Vijayanagara went up to the top of the Tirumalai hill, paid homage to the lord Veṅkaṭanātha, had him bathed in gold (*kanakābhishēka*) with 30,000 gold pieces (*varāhans*) and presented a triple-stringed necklace and a pair of gold-bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz." The two other records which are engraved on a deserted shrine in the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Kṛishṇāpuram refer to the same subject, and speak of Kṛishṇarāya, as having subdued Udayādri (Udayagiri) and having thence brought with great care the image of the god Bālakṛishṇa which he set up in a jewelled *maṇḍapa* (at Kṛishṇāpura) on Friday, the 3rd of the bright half of the month of Phālguna in the cyclic year Bhāva, which corresponded to Śaka 1436. On the occasion of this consecration the king is stated to have presented valuable jewels set with the nine kinds of gems, together with gold and silver vessels,

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[1] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 172.

[2] Nos. 628 and 628A of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

[3] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

[4] Nos. 25 and 26 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1889. The temple of Kṛishṇasvāmi is stated to have been built in this year (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 161).

[5] Nos. 53 to 55 of the collection for 1889.

[6] Inscriptions in the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi, the Viṭṭhala and the Underground (Prasanna-Virūpāksha) temples in Vijayanagara and in the Kōṭa-Vināyaka temple at Saṅkalāpura which record gifts of ornaments and villages to these temples and to the additions made to them by the queens of Kṛishṇarāya, in Śaka 1435, Śrīmukha, perhaps, indicate that the fortress of Udayagiri was still in seige or had just surrendered. In either case the gifts seem to have been apparently made with the object of propitiating the gods, though this may not have been specifically stated in these records.

and, in addition, to have bestowed nine villages free of all taxes, for oblations and offerings in the temple. Numerous other records which relate to Kṛishṇarāya's conquests in general, begin also with his capture of Udayagiri and close the account with his setting up of a pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru near Siṁhādri (Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district). They mention in connection with the conquest of Udayagiri the capture of a certain Tirumala-Rautarāya or Tirumalai-Rāhuttarāya, who must have been one of the nobles of Pratāparudra in charge of that fortress. Mr. Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu states that the chief who was in charge of Udayagiri was a certain Praharēśvara-Pātra who was an uncle of the Gajapati prince Vīrabhadra-Pātra.[1] Nuniz also speaks of the capture of an aunt (or an uncle) of Pratāparudra at Udayagiri, whose name he does not give.[2] Kanarese and Telugu records on the Udayagiri hill state that Kṛishṇarāya captured at Udayagiri an uncle of Pratāparudra Gajapati named Tirumala-Rāghavarāya[3] or Tirumala-Kāntarāya,[4] which are probably mistakes for Tirumalai-Rāhuttarāya. On the occasion of his visit to Udayagiri, Kṛishṇarāya with his usual liberality appears to have made many gifts to the temples on that hill.

On a second expedition against the Gajapati, which was apparently undertaken not long after the first—perhaps, with the object of not allowing sufficient time to him for rallying his forces—a determined attack was made on Koṇḍavīḍu where the Gajapati had apparently taken shelter. The fortress was captured by escalading its walls; and inscriptions[5] say that before laying siege to Koṇḍavīḍu, Kṛishṇarāya took by a single assault the minor fortresses of Addaṅki, Vinukoṇḍa, Bellaṁkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Tangeḍa, Kētavaram and other strongholds.[6] The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*,[7] which also refers to the victorious campaigns of Kṛishṇarāya in the east, mentions how the king attacked Udayagiri, easily captured Vinukoṇḍa, dispersed the forces that had collected at Koṇḍavīḍu, surprised Bellamukoṇḍa, devastated Vēlupukoṇḍa, razed Jallipalle to the ground, subdued Anantagiri, shook Kambammeṭlu by surprise and struck terror into the mind of the king of the Utkalas.[8] The same poem in another place[9] speaks of a certain Kasavāpātra and prince Vīrabhadra who were taken captives by Kṛishṇarāya during his capture of Koṇḍavīḍu. This last event according to the Koṇḍavīḍu and the Maṅgalagiri records[10], happened on the 12th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha in the Śaka year

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[1] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 172; it will be seen lower down that at Koṇḍapalli Kṛishṇarāya captured a certain Praharāja-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra. Perhaps Mr. Pantulu's Praharēśvara is derived from the name of this personage who, we know, was not a general at Udayagiri but at Koṇḍapalli. Mr. Apparao Pantulu of Vizianagram points out that the verse of the *Āmuktamālyadā* from which, evidently, this information was extracted, is clear in stating that Praharēśvara *was* in charge of Koṇḍapalli.

[2] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 317 and note 1.

[3] *Nellore Inscriptions*, U. 37.

[4] *Ibid*. U. 38, 40 and 41.

[5] *E.g.* No. 272 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

[6] All these fortresses are in the modern districts of Nellore and Guntur. While some were in the possession of the Gajapati, others appear to have been included in the dominions of the Qutb Shāhis of Golconda (see *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 132 to 136).

[7] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 174.

[8] Vēlupukoṇḍa, Jallipalli, Anantagiri and Kambammeṭlu mentioned here, were actually captured by the king in his next campaign (see p. 147 below)

[9] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 175.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 230ff and p. 108ff.

1437 (=23rd June A. D. 1515). From the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai,[1] Kāḷahasti[2] and the Amarāvati[3] inscriptions it may have to be inferred that Kṛishṇarāya on this occasion captured alive Vīrabhadrarāya or Vīrabhadrasēna, the son of Pratāparudra, Naraharipātra the son of Kumāra Hammīra-Mahāpātra (perhaps also a Gajapati prince), Mallūkhān[4] and Uddaṇḍakhān of Rāchūru (Raichūr), Rāchirāju of Pūsapāḍu[5] Śrīnātharāju and Lakshmīpatirāju,[6] Kasavāpātra of Janyāla, Bāḷachandra-Mahāpātra of the west and other nobles and feudatory chiefs. Evidently these chiefs and nobles of Pratāparudra had collected in the fortress of Koṇḍavīḍu to defend it against the attack of Kṛishṇarāya.[7] The presence among them of the two Muhammadan chiefs Mallūkhān and Uddaṇḍakhān of Rāchūru is of special interest as it suggests the intimate terms on which the Gajapati and the Ādil Shāhi kings (to whom belonged Raichūr) must have then been in their common cause to oppose the victorious Kṛishṇarāya. Prince Vīrabhadra who was taken captive on this occasion is stated by Nuniz,[8] to have been subsequently imprisoned in the city of Vijayanagara and insulted by the king, being asked to show his skill in sword-play with a person who was not of the royal blood. It is even related that the prince after this incident committed suicide. This does not appear to have been the case; for, a record from the Dāvaṇgere tāluka of the Chitaldroog district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IX. Dg. 107) states that Vīrabhadra-Mahārāya, son of the Gajapati king Pratāparudra-Mahārāya, was ruling under the orders of Kṛishṇarāya the district of Malega-Bennūr-sīme and remitted, in that capacity, the tax on marriages in Śaka 1438, Yuvan (=A. D. 1515-16), for the merit of his father Pratāparudra and king Kṛishṇarāya. This interesting record testifies to the high statesmanship of Kṛishṇarāya who, far from ill-treating a captive prince, raised him to the dignity of a provincial chief which he originally was when he held Koṇḍavīḍu. In the very same year in which Koṇḍavīḍu was taken, the king with his two wives Chinnādēvi-Amma and Tirumaladēvi-Amma, who appear to have accompanied him in his military campaigns, visited the temple of Amarēśvara near Dharaṇikōṭa (the historic Dhaññakaḍa) and bestowed there, the munificent gifts known as *tulāpurusha*, *ratnadhēnu* and *saptasāgara* and presented some villages.[9] After settling the defence and government of Koṇḍavīḍu, Kṛishṇarāya returned to Vijayanagara and left it again on his third expedition—this time directing it against Kaliṅga. He camped at Bezvāḍa and besieged

[1] No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902.

[2] No. 196 of the collection for 1903.

[3] No. 272 of 1897.

[4] Mallūkhān is very probably the Kutb-Malka mentioned in the Telugu poem *Kalāpūrṇōdayamu* as having been defeated near Koṇḍavīḍu by the Nandyāla chief Nārapārāja, who was one of the generals of Kṛishṇarāya (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 247).

[5] The Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record spells this name as Pūsalapāḍu. A village called Pūsapāḍu, 17 miles west of Bāpaṭla (Guntur district), is mentioned by Mr. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 84).

[6] These two chiefs are very probably identical with Śrī Nādha Rāja Rāmayya Sāmanta Śiṅgāra-Mahāpātra and his son Lakshmīpatirāja mentioned in a record at Kētavaram, dated Śaka 1474; see Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I., p. 65.

[7] The Maṅgalagiri record speaks of the "Swan-like kings" who were stationed by the Gajapati at Koṇḍavīḍu and were captured by Sāḷuva-Timma.

[8] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 319f.

[9] The Amarāvati record (No. 272 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) which supplies the above information appears to be a Telugu version with slight additions and alterations of the Sanskrit inscription from the same place. published by Professor Lüders in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 17ff. That Kṛishṇarāya made the rich gift of *tulāpurusha* at Amarēśvara is also mentioned in the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record.

Kondapalle where according to Nuniz, were collected "all the chiefs of the kingdom of Orya."[1] Krishnarāya here, made captives of many people of high rank "amongst whom was a wife of the king (of Orya) and one of his sons who was a prince[2] and seven principal captains of the kingdom." The Kālahasti record supplies the names of some of the chiefs who were captured alive at Kondapalle and pardoned. These were Praharāju-Śiraśchandra-Mahāpātra,[3] [Bō]dajanna-Mahāpātra and Bijilikhān. The last mentioned chief, evidently a Muhammadan, was either in the service of the Gajapati king or was sent as an ally by the Qutb Shāhi king of Gōlkonda to defend Kondapalle against an attack of Krishnarāya.[4] From Kondapalle Krishnarāya appears to have quickly followed the Gajapati into his own dominions, taking on the way by a single assault Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Urlagonda, Aruvapalli, Jallipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvāyi, Nalagonda, Kambhammettu, Kanakagiri, Śaṁkaragiri and other fortresses and strongholds in the country of Telungānya.[5] He marched to Simhādri-Pottunūru, set up a pillar of victory there, and made rich presents in company with his wives, to the temple on the top of the Simhāchalam hill. There exist even to-day three records[6] in Telugu characters written on the basement of the entrance into the Āsthāna-*mandapa* and on a pillar of the verandah round the Lakshmīnarasiṁhasvāmin temple at Simhāchalam, which relate in unmistakable terms the victories of Krishnarāya, his stay at Simhādri and his gifts to the temple. Telugu literature also, is never tired of describing the prowess of the king and his setting up the pillar of victory in the very heart of the Kaliṅga country.[7] Nuniz says that after this event Krishnarāya returned to Vijayanagara,—the offer of the hand of the Gajapati's daughter in marriage to Krishnarāya being a subsequent event. The interesting records of Tiruvannāmalai and Kālahasti quoted above, also agree in stating that the king returned from Simhādri to Vijayanagara by way of Rājamahēndri, where, the two queens again distributed rich presents. From the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* and other Telugu works,[8] however, we learn that Krishnarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru, but went further north, even, into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the

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[1] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 318.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 318f. Briggs "Ferishtah" says that this prince was Ramchunder Dew (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 133).

[3] Tamil records of Krishnarāya which relate to his victories in the east, speak of a minister (*pradhāna*) of the Gajapati king called Bhūpati Pitalādana Śiraśchandra (No. 511 of 1905), Bhūpati Pradhānarāja Śiraśchandra (No. 74 of 1903) or Bhūpati Āhlādana Śirashchandra (No. 125 of 1904), as one of Krishnarāya's captives in war. They do not, however, state where, exactly, he was captured. Perhaps we have in these wrong forms of the name a reference to the minister Praharāja Śiraśchandra Mahāpātra or Praharēśvara of Kondapalle; see above, p. 177, footnote 1.

[4] On p. 134 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, there is a reference to a treaty between the Qutb Shāhi king and the king of Orissa, as related in Briggs "Ferishtah." It looks as if Kondapalle was owned both by the Gajapati and the Muhammadan kings at the time of Krishnarāya's conquest.

[5] Most of these places are in the Raichur, Nalgonda and Warangal districts of the Nizam's dominions. Mr. Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 172), supposes Kanakagiri to be identical with Kanigiri in the Nellore district. This is not very likely, as the place is specifically mentioned among the fortresses of Telungānya and is still known to be a fortified town of some importance in the Raichur district.

[6] Nos. 243 to 245 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899.

[7] See *e.g. Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 175. The inscriptions at Simhāchalam, significantly however, omit to mention Krishnarāya's *biruda* Gajapati-saptāṅga-harana which means 'the destroyer of the army of the Gajapati (king)'; nor do they refer to the pillar of victory set up at Pottunūru.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 173.

country of Oḍḍādi[1] and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (*i.e.* Cuttack), thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters. Whether this expedition into Oḍḍādi and the burning of Kaṭaka happened in continuation of Kṛishṇarāya's setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, or whether it was the object of a fresh campaign subsequent to the king's return to the capital, as stated in inscriptions and by Nuniz, cannot be definitely stated at present for want of epigraphical records to confirm the facts registered, so far, only in Telugu literature. If the stone inscriptions of Kāḷahasti, Chidambaram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and other places, which are dated about the end of the Śaka year 1438, Dhātṛi or at the beginning of Śaka 1439, Īśvara, are to be believed, Kṛishṇarāya must have come back to his capital and made charities on a very large scale in almost every Śiva and Vishṇu temple in the Chōḷa-maṇḍala, in commemoration perhaps of his victories and must have started again on a fresh campaign against Gajapati. This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Siṁhāchalam records, *viz.*, that Kṛishṇarāya was at Siṁhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Siṁhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Kṛishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir[2] which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Charmaodel *side* and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Kṛishṇarāya's capture, was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor, does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catuir. Mr. Sewell thinks there is in this a possible reference to Vellore.[3] But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catuir' of Nuniz is identical with Kaṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Kṛishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. This conclusion is rendered very likely by the records at Siṁhāchalam, one of which dated in Śaka 1441, speaks of villages granted by the Gajapati on behalf of Kṛishṇarāya, while the two others of Śaka 1438 in the same place register gifts of jewels by the king and his two queens and record Kṛishṇarāya's conquests only up to his setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru—an event which, perhaps, was not enough to humble the Gajapati. Very likely Nuniz took 'Catuir' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Kṛishṇarāya started against Catuir. An examination of Kṛishṇarāya's records,

[1] Oḍḍādi is the same as Oḍḍavādi of early Telugu inscriptions. It was ruled by the Matsya chiefs about the end of the 13th Century A.D.; see *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 32f.

[2] *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320 to 322.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 321, note 1.

dated subsequent to [illegible] return from the first campaign against Kaliṅga and the setting up of the pillar of [illegible] help us, in a way, to confirm the possibility of an attack on Cuttack. [illegible] full of details as to the improvements which the king [illegible] temples of Southern India[1] and record his remission of [illegible].[2] About the end of the cyclic year Dhātri (=Śaka [illegible]), [illegible] Monday, the king is stated to have visited Kāḷatti (*i e.* Kāḷahasti), [illegible] there and caused to be built the hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa*[3] and [illegible] *gōpura* of the last gate which is now recognised as the *gāligōpura* and stands somewhat separated from the main temple. Perhaps in this same year the following additions were also made to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai:—

(1) the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*;

(2) the sacred tank dug in front of this (*maṇḍapa*) for the floating festival in Spring; and a reservoir called Tirumalaidēvi-Amman-samudram, to supply water to this same tank;

(3) the *gōpura* with eleven storeys;

(4) the *maṇḍapa* where the god is taken on the seventh day (of the *annual* festival);

(5) the sacred car for Vināyaka;

(6) the gilding (with gold) of the door and door-posts of the gate called *Uttamaśōḷan* and others;

(7) the gilding of the cornice, with solid gold plates of the highest quality;

(8) the gilding of the pinnacle;

(9) the (well called) Ārāvamuda-kiṇaru in front of the kitchen, in the temple of the goddess;

(10) the central shrine; and

(11) gold and silver jewels, images, *etc.*

The north *gōpura*, again, of the temple at Chidambaram was built by Krishṇarāya on his return from Siṁhādri.[4] In the following year, Īśvara corresponding to Śaka 1439, the king remitted taxes[5] amounting to 10,000 *varāhans* in favour of the

[1] This does not include his works in the capital Vijayanagara. The Viṭṭhala, Krishṇasvāmi, Hazāra Rāmasvāmi and the 'Underground' temples which bear records of his time, may have also been built by Krishṇarāya; see *Forgotten Empire*, Ch. XII. The Kanakadurgā inscription at Bezvāḍa, which registers the presentation of buildings in different places by the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śiṅgayyadēva-Mahārāja of the Solar race (see below, p. 184, note 1), refers to the following buildings constructed by him, at Vijayanagara: "A temple and a *maṇḍapa* for the god Raṇamaṇḍala-Bhairava, the guardian deity of Vidyānagara; the car-festival *maṇḍapa* for the god Rāmachandra (perhaps Hazāra Rāmasvāmi); temples for Kanaka-Gaṇapati and Śiva; and a temple for Durgā, on the western side of Virūpāksha."

[2] See *e.g.* No. 74 of the Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[3] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904, paragraph 23.

[4] Nos. 174 and 175 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892. The high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Krishṇarāya, as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as 100-pillared and 1,000-pillared *maṇḍapas*. We frequently hear of *rāyar-gōpuram* which means the "tower of Rāyar" (*i.e.* perhaps, Krishṇarāya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited thus by Krishṇarāya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the empire.

[5] These are specified to be *jōḍi*, *sūlavari*, *piravari*, *araśupēru* and other minor taxes which were payable to the palace (*araimanai*). Krishṇarāya was also famous for having remitted, in the earlier years of his reign, the marriage taxes almost throughout the Vijayanagara empire, in Ghanagiri-rājya, Gutti-rājya, Kandanavōlu-rājya, Gaṇḍikōṭa-sthala, Siddhavaṭa, Siddhāpura-sīma, Chandragiri-rājya, Nāgamaṅgala-sīma, Mulvāy-Mahārājya, Malnāḍu-Mahārājya, Rāyadurga, Melega-Bennūr-sīme (above p. 178) and other divisions. No. 387 of 1904 which records this gift of Krishṇarāya states that "the tax was being paid, from very early times, by both parties of all castes during

country of Oḍḍādi[1] and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (*i.e.* Cuttack), thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters. Whether this expedition into Oḍḍādi and the burning of Kaṭaka happened in continuation of Kṛishṇarāya's setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, or whether it was the object of a fresh campaign subsequent to the king's return to the capital, as stated in inscriptions and by Nuniz, cannot be definitely stated at present for want of epigraphical records to confirm the facts registered, so far, only in Telugu literature. If the stone inscriptions of Kāḷahasti, Chidambaram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and other places, which are dated about the end of the Śaka year 1438, Dhātṛi or at the beginning of Śaka 1439, Īśvara, are to be believed, Kṛishṇarāya must have come back to his capital and made charities on a very large scale in almost every Śiva and Vishṇu temple in the Chōḷa-maṇḍala, in commemoration perhaps of his victories and must have started again on a fresh campaign against Gajapati. This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Siṁhāchalam records, *viz.*, that Kṛishṇarāya was at Siṁhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Siṁhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Kṛishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir[2] which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Charmaodel *side* and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Kṛishṇarāya's capture, was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor, does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catuir. Mr. Sewell thinks there is in this a possible reference to Vellore.[3] But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catuir' of Nuniz is identical with Kaṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Kṛishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. This conclusion is rendered very likely by the records at Siṁhāchalam, one of which dated in Śaka 1441, speaks of villages granted by the Gajapati on behalf of Kṛishṇarāya, while the two others of Śaka 1438 in the same place register gifts of jewels by the king and his two queens and record Kṛishṇarāya's conquests only up to his setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru—an event which, perhaps, was not enough to humble the Gajapati. Very likely Nuniz took 'Catuir' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Kṛishṇarāya started against Catuir. An examination of Kṛishṇarāya's records,

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[2] *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320 to 322.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 321, note 1.

dated subsequent to his return from the first campaign against Kalinga and the setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, also help us, in a way, to confirm the possibility of an attack on Cuttack. Some of these are full of details as to the improvements which the king caused to be made to the famous temples of Southern India[1] and record his remission of taxes in their favour.[2] About the end of the cyclic year Dhātri (=Śaka 1438), in Pushya su. di. 13, Monday, the king is stated to have visited Kāḷatti (*i e.* Kāḷahasti), worshipped the god there and caused to be built the hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa*[3] and the big *gōpura* of the last gate which is now recognised as the *gāligōpura* and stands somewhat separated from the main temple. Perhaps in this same year the following additions were also made to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai:—

(1) the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*;
(2) the sacred tank dug in front of this (*maṇḍapa*) for the floating festival in Spring; and a reservoir called Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇ-samudram, to supply water to this same tank;
(3) the *gōpura* with eleven storeys;
(4) the *maṇḍapa* where the god is taken on the seventh day (of the *annual* festival);
(5) the sacred car for Vināyaka;
(6) the gilding (with gold) of the door and door-posts of the gate called *Uttamaśōḷaṇ* and others;
(7) the gilding of the cornice, with solid gold plates of the highest quality;
(8) the gilding of the pinnacle;
(9) the (well called) Ārāvamudu-kiṇaṟu in front of the kitchen, in the temple of the goddess;
(10) the central shrine; and
(11) gold and silver jewels, images, *etc.*

The north *gōpura*, again, of the temple at Chidambaram was built by Kṛishṇarāya on his return from Simhādri.[4] In the following year, Īśvara corresponding to Śaka 1439, the king remitted taxes[5] amounting to 10,000 *varāhans* in favour of the

[1] This does not include his works in the capital Vijayanagara. The Viṭṭhala, Kṛishṇasvāmi, Hazāra Rāmasvāmi and the 'Underground' temples which bear records of his time, may have also been built by Kṛishṇarāya; see *Forgotten Empire*, Ch. XII. The Kanakadurgā inscription at Bezvāḍa, which registers the presentation of buildings in different places by the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siṅgayyadēva-Mahārāja of the Solar race (see below, p. 181, note 1), refers to the following buildings constructed by him, at Vijayanagara: "A temple and a *maṇḍapa* for the god Raṇamaṇḍala-Bhairava, the guardian deity of Vidyānagara; the car-festival *maṇḍapa* for the god Rāmachandra (perhaps Hazāra Rāmasvāmi); temples for Kanaka-Gaṇapati and Śiva; and a temple for Durgā, on the western side of Virūpāksha."

[2] See *e.g.* No. 74 of the Epigraphical collection for 1903.

[3] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904, paragraph 23.

[4] Nos. 174 and 175 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892. The high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Kṛishṇarāya, as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as 100-pillared and 1,000-pillared *maṇḍapas.* We frequently hear of *rāyar-gōpuram* which means the "tower of Rāyar" (*i.e.* perhaps, Kṛishṇarāya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited thus by Kṛishṇarāya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the empire.

[5] These are specified to be *jōḍi, śūlavari, piṛavari, araśupēṟu* and other minor taxes which were payable to the palace (*araimanai*). Kṛishṇarāya was also famous for having remitted, in the earlier years of his reign, the marriage taxes almost throughout the Vijayanagara empire, in Ghanagiri-rājya, Gutti-rājya, Kandanavōlu-rājya, Gaṇḍikōṭa-sthala, Siddhavaṭa, Siddhāpura-sīma, Chandragiri-rājya, Nāgamaṅgala-sīma, Muḷvāy-Mahārājya, Malnāḍu-Mahārājya, Rāyadurga, Melega-Bennūr-sīme (above p. 178) and other divisions. No. 387 of 1904 which records this gift of Kṛishṇarāya states that "the tax was being paid, from very early times, by both parties of all castes during

Śiva and Vishṇu temples of the Chōḷa country, and issued a general order that the gift may be recorded on stone in all the temples which were thus benefited. About half a dozen inscriptions [1] examined so far at different places in the Madras Presidency record this grant and specify the Vishṇu and Śiva temples which were the beneficiaries. The record from Śēndamaṅgalam defines the four boundaries within which the temples were situated [2] and to which the gift was extended. These must have included a very large number. It is important to note that this munificent gift was made from the banks of the river Kṛishṇavēṇī (*i.e.* Kṛishṇā) and in the presence of the gods Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bejavāḍa, *not* in the year Śaka 1438 in which Kṛishṇarāya was on his way back to his capital from Siṁhādri, but in the *following* year 1439. The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōḷa-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Kṛishṇarāya was about this time, *viz.*, the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kaliṅga country against 'Catuir,' which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack. Kṛishṇarāya's charities were not confined to the Śiva and Vishṇu temples alone. He appears to have conferred grants also on the Jaina and Buddhist temples in his kingdom, in the latter part of the cyclic year Dhātṛi (corresponding to Śaka 1438).[3]

On returning from his campaign against Cuttack, perhaps about Śaka 1441, Kṛishṇarāya must have begun making the necessary preparations for the attack on Raichūr which is so vividly described by Nuniz in his chronicle (Chapters VII to XII). The only reference to the battle of Raichūr in epigraphical records is in an inscription from Tirukkaḍaiyūr [4] which registers how a Brāhmaṇa named Āpatsahāya served the king in his military campaigns against Irāchchūr (Raichūr) and Vijaiyānagara (Bījapūr ?) and pleased him. The date of this battle has been finally settled to be Saturday, the 19th May, A.D. 1520. Nuniz mentions a large number of chiefs who commanded the several detachments of Kṛishṇarāya's forces on this occasion.[5] These were Camanayque, Trimbicara, Timapanayque, Adapanayque, Comdamara, Comara, Ogemdraho and Comarberca, all of whom were chiefs who being granted extensive divisions of the Vijayanagara empire, were bound to put into the field a prescribed number of soldiers, horses and elephants in time of war, to help their overlord. After taking possession of Raichūr, Kṛishṇarāya is stated to have overrun the country of the Ādil Shāh, to have stopped for some time at Mudgal and to have destroyed the fortress of Kulbarga,[6] where he raised to the throne one of the deposed

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marriages." The same gift is recorded in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Mi. 64. From both the records it appears as if the great ministers Sāḷva-Timmappayya, Sāḷva-Gōvindayya and Aḍapināyaniṅgāru were chiefly instrumental in securing this remission for the people ; see also No. 343 of 1892.

[1] These are from Tīrthanagari (South Arcot), Śēndamaṅgalam (South Arcot), Kaṇṇanūr (Trichinopoly), Tiruviśalūr (Tanjore), Elvānāśūr (South Arcot) and Tiruppalātturai (Trichinopoly).

[2] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903, p. 8.

[3] No. 188 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[4] No. 47 of the collection for 1906 and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907, paragraph 59.

[5] *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 326, 327 and 329. Of the names of Kṛishṇarāya's generals mentioned here, Trimbicara may correspond to Triyambakarasa of Śivanasamudra who was ruling the Māḷēnahaḷḷi-sīme (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII., Sk. 25) and Timapanayque and Adapanayque are identical with Sāḷva-Timmappayya and Aḍapināyiniṅgāru mentioned in note 5 on p. 181. Comdamara is probably Koṇḍamarasa or Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya whose son was Ayyaparasa (Ajaboissa), *Forgotten Empire*, p. 361. Mr. Sewell identifies Ogendraho with Ganda Rājah (Gōvindarāja) a brother of Sāḷva-Timma and Comarberca, with Kumāra-Vīrayya of Mysore.

[6] In his *Āmuktamālyadī* Kṛishṇarāya speaks of having conquered the Yavanas (*i.e.* Muhammadans) at Kalbargi.

Muhammadan princes whom Ismāil Ādil Shāh had kept in prison.[1] In the last days of his reign the king again made a vigorous attempt at securing the Ādil Shāh but died before he could actually besiege Belgaum, whither the Mussalman king had fled.[2] Thus Kṛishṇarāya's rule was one of continuous warfare in which as we have seen, he was ever successful.

His able minister and general throughout these victorious campaigns was Sāḷuva-Timma (popularly known as Appāji). He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, son of Rāchaya and grandson of Vēmaya.[3] His brother was Sāḷuva-Gōvindarāja who for some time served as a provincial governor in the Gutti-rājya,[4] like his brother, some-time in Kuḍugu-nāḍu and the Terkaṇāmbeya-sīme (in Mysore)[5] and who after that, apparently, filled some important office at the capital Vijayanagara.[6] Sāḷuva-Timma is frequently mentioned by Nuniz as being greatly respected by the king. It is even supposed that it was in consequence of this regard which the king bore for him that Sāḷuva-Timma received the surname Appāji which literally means "the respectful father." In a record from Bāpaṭla (Guntur district) Sāḷuva-Timma is described as Kṛishṇarāya's "own body"[7] and holds the *biruda* Dharaṇīvarāha. Timma's two nephews were Appa and Gōpa of Nādiṇḍla who served one after the other as governors of Koṇḍavīḍu soon after it was captured from the Gajapati king.[8] The first, it may be noted, is stated to have married a daughter of his maternal uncle Sāḷuva-Timma, and to have patronised the Telugu poet Mādayyagāri Mallanna of Koṇḍavīḍu who dedicated to him the poem *Rājaśēkharacharitramu.*[9] The second, Gōpa, was a Sanskṛit scholar. He is known to have written the commentary called *Chandrikā* on Kṛishṇamiśra's philosophical drama, the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya.*[10] Gōpa was perhaps for a time also in charge of the fortress of Gutti[11] and Apparasayya (Appa) was ruling the Sōlūra-sīme in Mysore, in Śaka 1442.[12] Timmarasa appears to have had an assistant (*upapradhāna*) in the person of Sōmarsa, son of Mēḷamamantri or Mēḷarsa of Chandragiri.[13] The epithet Sāḷuva which Timmarasa adopted appears to have been purely out of respect for that *biruda* which was also held by the kings whom he served; and these latter again, may have appropriated it from the usurper Sāḷuva-Narasiṅga.

Although from the foregoing paragraphs, it may be inferred that the fortress of Udayagiri was in the hands of the Gajapati king prior to Kṛishṇarāya's capture

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[1] *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 352 to 358.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 362.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 234, Text line 24f.

[4] No. 340 of the Epigraphical collection for 1892.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., Introduction, p. 25.

[6] Paes says he was the Governor of Bisnaga; *Forgotten Empire*, p. 281. In a record of Śaka 1441 he styles himself *mahāpradhāna* (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III. Tn. 73) and *śiraḥpradhāna* (*ibid.* 42), in Śaka 1446 (perhaps, a misprint for 1443).

[7] No. 186 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897. Mr. Apparao tells me that a popular Telugu verse on Timmarasa speaks of him thus: "The best of kings, Kṛishṇarāya called you 'Ayya,' father. Oh! Timmarusayya! where is your equal? You are (surely) the sugar-cane bowed (god) (Manmatha)!"

[8] *Ed. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 111f.

[9] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 210. From the Maṅgalagiri inscription (v. 30) we learn that Gōpa was also a son-in-law of Sāḷuva-Timma.

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI. Additions and Corrections, p. vi.

[11] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 210, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI., p. 112.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX., Ma. 11.

[13] No. 186 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.

of it, it does not, however, appear as if the whole province of Udayagiri-rājya was under his sway. For, in Śaka 1431, Śukla, a subordinate of Kṛishṇarāya, *viz.*, Narasayyadēva-Mahārāja of the Solar race, is stated to have made a grant of a village in Mulkināḍu-sīma which was a sub-division of the Udayagiri-rājya.[1] Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya[2] was the first general who was placed in charge of Udayagiri, soon after its capture. Later on, about the end of Kṛishṇarāya's reign, Rāyasam Ayyapparusu appears to have held that office.[3]

On the west coast the Jaina chiefs of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya owed allegiance to Kṛishṇarāya. The province of Maṅgalūru-Bārakūru-rājya was ruled by Ratnappoḍeya of the family of Vaicha-Daṇḍādhipa, in Śaka 1434 and Śaka 1437.[4] Later on, in Śaka 1447, this office appears to have been held by a certain Viṭṭharasa-Oḍeya.[5] The *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sāḷuva Immaḍi-Dēvarāya-Oḍeya was ruling in Śaka 1445, the province in which were included Haiva, Tuḷu and Koṅkaṇa, from his capital Gersappe.[6] Sāḷuva-Nāyakkar was governing Tiruvadi-śīmai in Śaka 1449[7] and, in that capacity, exempted the *Kaṇmāḷar* (artisans) of that district, from payment of certain taxes. Taraṇikka Maṅgaraśayyaṉ was an earlier governor of the same part of the empire.[8] Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar, son of Taḷuvakkuḷaindām-Bhaṭṭar is styled *ubhaya-pradhāni* in a record from Achharapākkam[9] in the Chingleput district, and is reported to have made a grant for the merit of Kṛishṇarāya in Śaka 1450, in the presence of god Kapilēśvara at Ānaikundi (Ānegondi). In Śaka 1444 Śellappa Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar restored, apparently on his own responsibility, a grant to a temple at Tirumaiyam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.[10] Two inscriptions from Tirupputtūr[11] in the Madura district, both dated in Śaka 1432, and another from Māṅgāḍu[12] in the Chingleput district, dated in Śaka 1437, refer again, perhaps to the same Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar—the first two, giving him the surname Śellappa with the honorary affix *svāmi* (lord) added to it, and the third inserting the name Taḷuvakkuḷaindām-Bhaṭṭar between Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar and his surname Śellappar. A rebel on whose account Kṛishṇar-

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[1] No. 491 of the collection for 1906. Narasayyadēva is, in this record, stated to have been the younger brother of Basavarāja and the son of Tammarāya. Mr. Venkayya identifies him with Siṅgayadēva-Mahārāja mentioned in the Kanakadurgā inscription at Bezvāḍa (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906-7, p. 90). Basavarāja the brother of the donor, was apparently the patron of Dūbaguṇṭa-Nārāyaṇakavi who translated the well known *Pañchatantra* into Telugu (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 225).

[2] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1475f. He is mentioned in a record at Dāḍikkombu near Dindigul (Madura district) as having issued orders to a certain Tammaya-Nāyakkar to repair an anicut and dig a canal called *Kāvērivallabhaṉ* (No. 4 of the Epigraphical collection for 1894).

[3] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1476.

[4] Nos. 54 and 42 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[5] No. 150 of the same collection.

[6] From an unpublished stone record preserved in the Bombay Asiatic Society. This chief may be the same as Sāḷuva Dēvarāya-Vodeya who in Śaka 1421 was ruling the Nagiri-rājya as a subordinate of Narasaṇa-Nāyaka (above, p. 169). The epithet *immaḍi*, however, suggests that the son of that chief is perhaps, meant.

[7] Nos. 117 and 118 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897. This was the name of the district of which Tiruvadigai in the South Arcot district, was the chief town; see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 331, footnote 8.

[8] No. 426 of the collection for 1909.

[9] No. 233 „ 1901.

[10] No. 399 „ 1906.

[11] Nos. 91 and 92 „ 1908.

[12] No. 361 „ „

āya's successor Achyuta had to invade the Tiruvaḍi-rāyja, was also called Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka.[1]

It is unnecessary to swell the article by giving a list of the officers of Kṛishṇarāya who served as provincial governors or their local agents in the several divisions and sub-divisions of the vast Vijayanagara empire; or again of chiefs who held Nāyaṅkaras (*i. e. jāghīrs*) under the king for maintaining an army. It is enough to state that the coronation of Kṛishṇarāya was honoured as stated in the Telugu poem *Kṛishṇarājavijayamu*,[2] by the presence of the charming personage, Ārvīṭi Bukkarāja, the famous scions of the family of Aukuvāru (Owk), the heroic Nandyālavāru, the warlike Velugōṭivāru, Pemmasānivāru, Būdabaḷivāru, Rāvelavāru and other feudatories who attended on the king day and night with their enormous forces of men, horses, chariots and elephants. Substantial assistance on the battlefield is said to have been rendered by the chiefs of the Āravīṭi family, those of the Toragaṇṭi family, and of the Gobbūri and the Nandyāla families. The grandeur of Krishṇarāya's court attended by so many chiefs might really have been a sight which fully justified the outbursts of admiration of the Portuguese chroniclers Nuniz and Paes, in their description of the great wealth of Vijayanagara, its festivals, its military strength and its heroic king. A poet of the first rank who flourished at this time was Alasāni-Peddana,[3] the Poet-Laureate of Kṛishṇarāya. The king himself was a great scholar who composed the elegant poem *Āmuktamālyadā*, also known as *Vishṇuchittīyamu*. He loved letters, patronised men of learning and attracted to his court the foremost of scholars as his companions and councillors. In the words of the Kanakadurgā record, the events

[1] See below, p. 188. In my *Annual Report* for 1908-9, p. 117f, I suggested that this Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar might have been the father of Kṛishṇarāya, inasmuch as the gift recorded in the Tirupputtūr and the Māṅgāḍu inscriptions had been made for his merit and because *svāmi* and *śellappar* were terms which indicated high regard and love. But, as the Tirumaiyam and the Achcharapākkam records register gifts independently by him for the merit of the king and as the latter epigraph calls him distinctly the son of Taḷuvakkuḷaindām-Bhaṭṭar, there could be no possible reference in the records quoted above either to the father of Kṛishṇarāya or to his brother Evidently '*svāmi*' Śellappa Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar was an officer who commanded much respect from the king and was immensely endeared to him. The only person answering to this description was Sāḷuva-Timma, who according to Nuniz, was treated by the king as his own father (above, p. 183, footnote 7). But again, the Agastya-*gōtra* and the Bōdhāyana-*sūtra* of the chief Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyakkar, as registered in the Achcharapākkam record, are against our identifying him with Sāḷuva-Timma of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra* and the Āpastamba-*sūtra* An epigraph recently discovered at Uṛattūr in the Chingleput district (No. 256 of 1910) gives to Vīra-Narasiṁha the title Sāḷuva-Daṇṇāyaka. This suggests that Vira-Narasiṁha is, very likely, to be identified with Salvanay or Salvanayque who, according to Nuniz (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 384) held large territories which bordered on Ceylon.

[2] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 239. Some of the families herein mentioned are well known. Ārvīṭi Bukkarāja was the famous great grand-father of Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of Kṛishṇarāya (see genealogical Table at the end of this article). The Poligars of Owk are mentioned in the Kurnool *Manual*, p. 67. The Nandyāla and Velugōṭi chiefs figure frequently in the time of the Karnāṭa kings of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty It is also stated in Telugu literature that Immarāja, a chief of Ākuvīḍu (perhaps Owk ?), and Nāraparāju of Nandyāla—both contemporaries of Aliya-Rāmarāja, were serving in the army of Kṛishṇarāya and followed him in his campaigns against Rājamahēndri and Koṇḍavīḍu (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 248). It is difficult to understand how Ārvīṭi-Bukka, 'who established even the kingdom of Sāḷuva-Nṛisiṁha (*i.e.* usurper Narasiṅga),' could have been present at the coronation of Kṛishṇarāya. If he were, he must have lived to a good old age.

[3] Alasāni-Peddana, was so much indebted to the kindness of Kṛishṇarāya that after the king's death, he deplores the loss of his great patron and says in a most pathetic piece of poetry: "Why did he (king Kṛishṇa) get down from his mad elephant wherever he met me and lift me up to sit by his side? Why, did he raise up the palanquin (which carried me), with his own arm, when I was taken round in procession on presenting my poem *Manucharitra*? Why did he put on my leg with his own hand, the anklet *kaviganda-peṇḍēra* saying, "You alone deserve it?" Why gave villages to me wherever I chose to have them, called me Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha and Alasāni-Peddana 'lord of poets'? Fie upon this living carcase of mine that breathes still without accompanying that great Kṛishṇarāya to heaven!" (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 190).

registered in the foregoing paragraphs might be summed up thus: "Having defeated all his enemies in this world, planted a pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, seized the elephants, cavalry and all the extensive territory of the Yavana king, Kṛishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya conquered all quarters; returned to Vijayanagara (and) ascended the jewelled throne; and entrusted the entire administration of the kingdom to the minister named Sāḷuva-Timma, who was faithfulness itself, the abode of all good qualities, whose glory outshone the sun and who surpassed the preceptor of the gods in wisdom. (He) was enjoying the boundless and unequalled happiness of sovereignty while his mind was occupied with the highly revered assembilies of wise-men who had mastered the ocean-like sciences of words, sentences and their correct meaning and who were like wind to the chaff, *viz.* opposing scholars; of those who were learned in poetry, drama, rhetoric and foreign languages; of poets who were versed in the fourfold composition: and of others who were learned and great; and was always engaged in fulfilling the desires of supplicants all over the world."

King Kṛishṇarāya was in no way less famous for his religious zeal and catholicity. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishṇavism. We have already referred to the munificient gifts which he lavished on the Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Jaina and Bauddha temples. The Mādhva teacher Vyāsatīrtha, to whom is attributed the foundation of the now existing Vyāsarāya-maṭha, was a contemporary of Kṛishṇarāya and was the recipient of many rich gifts from that king.[1] Krishṇarāya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brāhmaṇas, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs who sheds a lustre on the pages of history.

A traditionary Telugu verse supposed to be the composition of Alasāni-Peddana refers to the passing away of Kṛishṇarāya in Śaka 1447, Tāraṇa.[2] But evidence from inscriptions clearly makes his reign extend to the beginning (Vaiśākha) of Śaka 1452, Virōdhin,[3] in which year his half brother Achyutarāya is also stated to have been crowned king of Vijayanagara. Nuniz mentions a son of Kṛishṇarāya[4] who though 6 years old, was chosen by the king to succeed him during his lifetime, but the prince

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 41 and note 1; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905, p. 59.

[2] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 170.

[3] No. 525 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906. It is interesting to note that this inscription refers to a certain Kōnapa-Nāyinigāru who was a brother-in-law (*bhāva*) of Kṛishṇarāya. He must either have married a sister of Kṛishṇarāya or one of his sisters must have been married to the king.

[4] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 359 and p. 367. No. 139 of the Epigraphical collection for 1896, speaks of a son of Kṛishṇarāya, named Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāyar as 'ruling the earth' in Śaka 1446, *i.e.* about 6 years prior to the death of Kṛishṇarāya. Perhaps the king had actually made this son Tirumala a crown-prince in this year. Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya, the son of Kṛishṇarāya, again figures in two records from the Bangalore district (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX. Ma. 6 and 82) both of which are dated in Śaka 1446. The Sāḷuva general Timmaṇa-Daṇṇāyaka referred to in these two epigraphs is perhaps identical with Timadanayquo, son of the great minister Sāḷuva-Timmarasa, mentioned by Nuniz (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 361).

having died soon after, Kṛishṇarāya had to elect his brother Achyuta to be the ruler after him.

Nuniz who for some time, at least, stayed at Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutarāya, does not speak of this king in the same appreciative terms as he has done of Kṛishṇarāya. In Chapters XX to XXIII of his chronicle, which he devotes to Achyuta, he speaks of the king's vicious and tyrannical nature, his weakness and lack of military prowess almost bordering on cowardice, his taste for oriental grandeur and his entire want of independence of character. Added to this dark picture of his character, the only political event Nuniz mentions is that which relates how Achyuta patched up a peace with the Ydalcão (Ādil Shāh) at a heavy ransom allowing the enemy to approach "Nāgallapor (Hospet) a league from Bisnaga" and to raze it to the ground, though under his command the king had as many as "two hundred" feudatory chiefs who maintained "six lakhs" of soldiers.[1] In consequence of this Raichur is said to have been lost to Vijayanagara.

This estimate of Achyutarāya's military prowess by Nuniz, may not be altogether far from the truth. Yet inscriptions declare him to have been a powerful king who, though he may have ceded a small portion of his empire to the Muhammadans, must have extended his sovereignty into the farthest south of the Indian Peninsula and maintained the reputation of his great predecessor Kṛishṇarāya in his liberal donations to temples and Brāhmaṇas. Achyutarāya must have also made his power felt even in the distant corners of his vast dominions, as is evidenced by the large number of feudatories who explicitly acknowledged him their sovereign. In the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900 (paragraphs 70 to 77), are detailed Achyutarāya's conquests as they are described in two epigraphical records from Conjeeveram (Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900). Crowned on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Kārttika[2] in the cyclic year Virōdhin, Achyuta is stated to have promised protection to the chiefs Rāyaṇarāja of Nuggihaḷḷi, Mallarāja of Ummattūr, Veṅkaṭādri and other Nāyaka feudatories that had applied to him for protection, to have reinstated such of the rulers as had lost their territory, to have sent armaments (?) to the Tiruvaḍi-rājya, to have set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī (river), and to have received tribute from the Tiruvaḍi (*i.e.* the king of Travancore). Having subdued the chiefs Tumbichchi-Nāyakkaṉ and Śāḷuva-Nāyakkaṉ, he is stated to have accepted (in marriage) the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king. Three years after the commencement of this victorious campaign, *i.e.* in the cyclic year Nandana, on the 12th day of the bright half of the month Karkaṭaka (*i.e.* Śrāvaṇa), the king entered the town of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram) with his queen Varadādēvi-Ammāḷ and prince Komāra-Veṅkaṭādri *alias* Chikka-Uḍaiyar, who, according to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* mentioned below, was the *yuvarāja* at the time.[3] He visited the temple of Varadarāja, weighed himself against pearls in the presence of that god, bestowed the gifts called *mahā-*

[1] *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 373 and 389.

[2] We have seen that Kṛishṇarāya was still living in the month Vaiśākha of this year. Consequently his death must have occurred some time between Vaiśākha and Kārttika. The *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* says that Achyuta was anointed at Śēshādri, *i.e.* Tirupati, before entering Vidyānagarī (Vijayanagara).

[3] Two records in the Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagara (Nos. 4 and 5 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904 register grants for the merit of Achyutarāya and (his son) Chikkarāya.

bhūtaghaṭa and *sahasragōdāna*, and made presents of villages and of rich jewels set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz and lapis lazuli.[1] A record from Tiruppanaṅgāḍu, dated in Śaka 1453, Khara,[2] supplies the additional information that it was the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja that led the expedition into the Tiruvaḍi-dēśa (*i.e.* the Travancore country), the reason for so doing being apprehension of a certain Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka who had deserted his charge and fled to the Tiruvaḍi, for protection. Having secured the chief, it is stated that Tirumalaidēva was pleased to arrive at Kāñchīpuram in the solar month Makara (*i.e.* Māgha) of that year. We learn also that the charge against Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka was, that he was exacting *jōḍi* from the village of Tiruppanaṅgāḍu, though this tax had been excused in favour of the temple there, under orders of Sāḷuva-Timmaya, in the days of Kṛishṇarāya. Apparently his escape into the Tiruvaḍi country and his subsequent capture were the result of this misbehaviour on the part of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka. Bōgayyadēva-Mahārāja of the Solar race and a descendant of the Chōḷas of Uṟaiyūr, who in the meanwhile had, evidently, succeeded "the deposed" Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka in the governorship of the country round Tiruppanaṅgāḍu, brought this matter to the notice of the general Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja and got the *jōḍi* remitted as before. In Śaka 1456, Manmatha, Achyuta appears to have encamped in the north, on the banks of the river Kṛishṇā. For, he is stated to have granted from there, in this year, a village for the merit of his mother Ōbāchchiyammaṉ (Ōbāmbikā of inscriptions) and renamed it Ōbāchchiyammaṉ-samudra in her honour.[3] The king in some of his records assumes Sāḷuva titles just like his predecessor Kṛishṇarāya and in addition bears the *birudas* : 'lord of the southern ocean'; 'conqueror of the Oḍḍiyaṉ and of the army of the Muhammadan'; 'a terror to the kings of the Teluṅga (country)'; 'the establisher of the Chōḷa-maṇḍala and the Toṇḍai-maṇḍala' and 'the conqueror of Īḻam (Ceylon) and all countries.'[4] Achyuta's charities are known to have extended far and wide even to the temple of Sētu-Mādhava at Dhanushkōṭi (Rāmēśvaram).[5] The temple of Viṭṭhala at Vijayanagara contains eight records of Achyuta which register gifts to that temple by the king and his subordinates. One of these (No. 9 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904) is of special interest as it records the gift of *suvarṇamēru* 'a mountain (*mēru*) of gold' by the king and is commemorated by a verse composed by the 'student' Tirumalammanavaru who, in all probability, was a princess of the royal family. Another, records the consecration of the 12 Vaishṇava Āḻvārs and of Tirukkachchi-Nambi-Āḻvār within the enclosure of the same temple, on its north side, for the

[1] No. 51 of the Epigraphical collection for 1900. records a grant to the same god of a (gold) conch, a discus, the palm of protection (*abhaya-hasta*) and the Śrīvaishṇava forehead-mark—all worked in gems.

[2] No. 253 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[3] No. 47 of the collection for 1900.

[4] This last title was also assumed by Kṛishṇarāya in the latter part of his rule (No. 146 of 1903 and No. 651 of 1905) ; but we do not know of any epigraphical evidence to indicate Kṛishṇarāya's interference even in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya country (*Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900, p 29.)

[5] No. 400 of the Epigraphical collection for 1907 ; an inscription at Toḷachgūḍ (near Bādāmi) states that the fort at Bādāmi and the temples within it were repaired by the son of a certain Chinnappa-Nāyaka, a general of Achyuta (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 191). Chinnappa-Nāyaka is probably identical with Chinapannique mentioned by Nuniz (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 372) to have been the chief *alcaid* of the king.

merit of Achyuta, who must have been a staunch Vaishṇava. A bank, temple or village under name Ānanda-nidhi was granted by him to the god Mādhava, (*i.e.* Vishṇu) by which act the Brāhmaṇas became rich like "Kubēra." [1]

The victorious expedition of Achyutarāya into the Tiruvaḍi country is the theme of the Sanskrit poem *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* composed by the poet Rājanāthakavi. The cause for the expedition is herein related to be the desertion of his charge by a Chōḷa chief and his alliance with the Chēra. Achyuta, consequently, is stated to have decided upon punishing both the Chēra and the Chōḷa, and protecting the Pāṇḍya who had lost his throne, either as a result of this alliance or for some other cause. From the Tiruppanaṅgāḍu inscription noticed above, it was seen that the *causus belli* were the desertion of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka and his seeking refuge with the Tiruvaḍi (*i e.* the king of Travancore). Perhaps the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* where it speaks of the Chōḷa king, means only the chief Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka who may have been of Chōḷa descent just like Bōgayya-dēva-Mahārāja, mentioned in the Tiruppanaṅgāḍu record. It is also possible that the term *Śōḷappa* which is applied to him in the Sanskrit poem is only a mistake for *Śellappa* which we have seen was the title of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka in the time of Krishṇarāya.[2] The subjugation of the rebellious chiefs Sāḷuva-Nāyaka and Tumbichchi-Nāyaka and the marrying of the Pāṇḍya king's daughter which are related in the Kāñchī inscriptions confirm the second of the two causes for the expedition adduced by the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam.*

Thus it looks as if Achyuta was not altogether the craven that he is represented by Nuniz, to have been. Nevertheless, he must have experienced a very rough time in maintaining a vast empire, whose enemies were ever smarting under the crushing defeat sustained by them at the hands of Krishṇarāya. It is recorded in Telugu literature that immediately after the death of Krishṇa, the Gajapati king made an attempt to invade the Vijayanagara dominions, but returned to his own country on reading a verse of trenchant ridicule flung at him by the old Poet Laureate Alasāni-Peddana who outlived Krishṇarāya. [3] That Ādil Shāh, too, actually approached the capital and retired only on payment of a very heavy ransom and the cession of the fortress of Raichūr, has been already referred to. But titles like 'conqueror of the Oḍḍiyaṉ and of the Muhammadan army,'[4] which Achyuta re-

[1] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904, p. 14, paragraph 24. On the Achyutarāyasāmin temple at Vijayanagara is a Sanskrit record in six verses, his first of which refers to Achyuta's unequalled liberality. This identical verse is repeated again in his Ūnamāñjēri plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 154, verse 38). Perhaps the Achyutarāyasvāmin temple was built by him and represents the Ānanda-nidhi under reference.

[2] From this, it appears as if the rebel Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka and *svāmi* Śellappa Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka of epigraphical records, are identical. If this is actually found to be the case by future researches, it will be interesting to examine how Krishṇarāya could have been so considerate towards this feudatory chief as even to overlook his faults and respect him. Achyuta, out of personal spite or for some unknown cause, may have exposed Vīra-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka and driven him to the length of seeking refuge with the Tiruvaḍi.

[3] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 190. Krishṇarāya appears to be called here 'the Sampeṭa king' and 'the lion of Selagōlu (family).' He is stated to have taken the fortress of Ārat̤lagōṭa and to have set up a pillar of victory at Siṁhādri. Sammeṭa or Sambeṭa occurs as the family name of the chiefs Lakkayadēva-Mahārāja (No. 617 of 1907) and Bommayadēva-Mahārāja (No. 519 of 1906) both of whom were, apparently, subordinates of king Dēvarāya II (Śaka 1343 to 1368) and bore the title *Antembaragaṇḍa.*

[4] Above, p. 188. The king is even stated to have planted a pillar of victory in the Oḍya-rājya (Orissa). It has been noted already that some of these titles of Achyuta were adopted from those of his predecessor, Krishṇarāya.

ceives in inscriptions, if they are not empty boasts—as such are often found to be—may perhaps be taken to indicate that these two hereditary enemies had actually to be conquered before Achyuta could establish himself on the throne of Vijayanagara. The statement of Nuniz, however, that Achyuta was entirely under the control and advice of his brothers-in-law, was perhaps an actual fact. It was evidently, this trait in his character that brought about after his death, the difficulties about succession (to be mentioned hereafter), and the eventual usurpation by the Āravīḍu chiefs, who from very early times had rendered substantial military aid to the rulers of the First and the Second Vijayanagara dynasties. From the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* we learn that Varadāmbā, the queen of Achyuta, was the daughter of a Salaga chief, and that the leader of the expedition against Travancore was a brother-in-law of the king. Consequently the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tirumalaidēva-Mahārāja who led the campaign against Tiruvaḍi-rājya must be identical with one of the two brothers-in-law of Achyuta, mentioned by Nuniz. He was also of the Salaka (Salaga) family and is called in one of Achyutarāya's inscriptions "the great minister Peda-Timma, a full-moon to the ocean of the Salaka kings (*or* of king Salaka)" [1] and sometimes, *kumāra* Jalakarāja-Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārāya[2] and Salakarāju-Pina-Tirumalayyadēva. [3] A record from Vēmalūrpāḍu[4] states that Peda-Tirumalayya was the son of Salakarāja (sometimes also called Lakkayyadēva), grandson of Siṅgarāja, and great grandson of Lakkarāja. It is difficult to understand how the opposite terms *peda* 'the elder' and *pina* 'the younger' could be applied to one and the same chief Tirumalayyadēva-Mahārāja. Perhaps as Nuniz states, there were two brothers of the same name Tirumalayyadēva, both sons of Salaka, who served under Achyutarāya as prime-minister and general. The *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Hiriya (*i.e.* Pedda in Telugu)-Tirumalarāja-Voḍeyaru, perhaps identical with the Salaka chief of that name, is stated to have constructed a temple for Tiruveṅgaḷanātha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā river and to have presented to it, jewels worked in nine kinds of gems, a golden flagstaff, vessels, and a village in the Malayāḷa (Malabar) country.[5] The way in which Tirumalayya is often introduced in inscriptions may also be taken to indicate the great influence which he must have wielded in the management of the State.[6] Some of Salaka-Timma's subordinates were: the Chōḷa *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bhōgayyadēva-Mahārāja who has already been referred to as governing one of the provinces of Vijayanagara, in which was situated Tiruppanaṅgāḍu; the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāḷattirājayya, son

[1] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906, Appendix A., No. 11. It may be noted that here Pedda-Timma is stated to have belonged to the king's *aḍapa*. By this we have perhaps to understand that either he or his ancestors were on the staff of pages who used to serve the king with betel. That these pages also occupied a high position in the State, is seen from the statement of Nuniz that one of the commanders of Krishṇarāya's forces in his campaign against Raichūr, was a "page who served the king with betel" (*Forgotten Empire*, p. 327 and footnote 3); see also below, p. 198f where three chiefs of Sadāśiva bear the affix *Aḍappattu*.

[2] No. 337 of the collection for 1908.

[3] No. 162 of the collection for 1905. In one record (No. 492 of 1906) the name is reversed as Timmarāju-Salakayyadēva, though correctly it ought to have been Salakarāju-Timmayyadēva.

[4] No. 544 of the collection for 1909.

[5] No. 16 of 1904.

[6] In one epigraph (No. 241 of 1904) Tirumalaidēva, receives the epithet *svāmi* 'lord.' Gifts by subordinate chiefs were generally made under his orders and for his merit. Inscriptions from the Nellore district mention him as having had command over the Udayagiri and the Chandragiri provinces (*Nellore inscriptions*, p. 1476.) He was perhaps also in charge of the Śeṅgaḷunīrpaṭṭu-śīrmai (Chingleput) (No. 337 of 1908).

of Lankayadeva also of the Chōḷa race; and the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Raṅgaya-Chōḍa-Mahārāja, son of Jagatāba-Kaṁchchirāja, who was in possession of the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīma. It is interesting to note, here, the contents of a charter (*nammika-śāsana*) registered in a record at Pulivendla [1] (Cuddappah district) by an agent of Timmarāju-Salakayya (mistake for Salakarāju-Timmayya, as noted already) named Yallappa-Nāyaniṅgāru of the Tuḷuva (country). It is dated in Śaka 1457 and proclaims to the inhabitants of Pulivindala-sīma: "Whatever rights and privileges we have agreed to grant to you, that we shall observe in the case of all tenants whether it be those that left the town (before the issue of this charter), those that have newly come into the town or those that have been resident in the town; that all of you shall henceforth live peacefully in the towns paying the taxes mentioned in the list granted to you; that tenants who have suffered in the past, not being able to pay the taxes according to the old rule, are pardoned (from payment of arrears) and that any transgression of the rules (now passed by us) shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding 12 *rūkas.*" This clearly indicates the disturbed state in which the inhabitants of the Pulivindala country must have been prior to the issue of this charter; and evidently the necessity for it was high taxation and official oppression.[2] A record from Nandalūr in the Cuddapah district [3] appears to confirm this inference; for, it states that a certain village which once belonged to the temple of Chokkanātha-Perumāḷ was under official oppression, deprived of it. Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayyaṅgāru [4] had to appeal to Rāmābhaṭlayyavāru,[5] the governor of Udayagiri-rājya to get the village once again declared rent-free in favour of the temple. This state of affairs, to some extent, justifies the remarks which Nuniz makes about the king when he says that he was "exacting payments from his captains and people ruthlessly."[6]

Another prominent feudatory of Achyutarāya was Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, son of Nāgama-Nāyaka, who in the copper plate records of the Nāyaka dynasty of Madura is stated to have been its founder. He must have followed Achyuta in his war against the Tiruvaḍi-rājya and having been appointed representative in the Pāṇḍya-rājya, eventually usurped it.[7] Inscriptions mention besides these, the following *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* and generals of Achyutarāya; (1) Immaḍi Tōrātta Śindaiya-dēva-Mahārāja,[8] (2) Rāyasam Ayyaparusu, son of Rāyasam Koṇḍamarusayya,[9]

[1] No. 492 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Sr. 6 also speaks of taxation "unknown in former days."

[3] No. 607 of the Epigraphical collection for 1907. The term *mahārājika* occurring in the Toḷchgūḍ (Bādāmi) inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 19, Text, line 8, and p. 20, note ¶) corresponds to *rājika* that occurs in l. 12 of the Nandalūr record and means according to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, the oppression of Government.

[4] This same Tirumalayyaṅgāru who bore the title *Vēdamārga-pratishṭhāchārya* made a grant of three villages to the Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagara (No. 8 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904).

[5] The family name of this provincial ruler was Bhūtanātha (No. 159 of 1905 and *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1476).

[6] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 368.

[7] No. 113 of the Epigraphical collection for 1908 and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909, p. 119. Śevvappa-Nāyaka the first of the Nāyakas of Tanjore is stated in the Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* or *Subhadrāpariṇayamu*, to have married a sister of Tirumalāmbā, one of the queens of Achyuta, and to have thus become his kinsman (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 345, and *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-5, p. 60f).

[8] Nos. 294 and 295 of the collection for 1897. Immaḍi Tōrātta Vaśavayyadēva mentioned in No. 111 of the same collection may have been related to Śindaiyadēva.

[9] No. 499 of 1906 and *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1476. Ayyaparusu is stated to have been in charge of the fortress of Ghaṇḍikōṭa in that capacity, to have remitted the 235 *varāhans* that used to be collected as *durga-Daṇāyani vartana* from seven villages belonging the Bhairavēśvara temple at Mōmpuru.

(3) Chinnappa-Nāyaka, son of the door-keeper Mallappa-Nāyaka for whose merit a gift was made to a temple of Gaṇēśa at Tanjore,[1] (4) Achyutarāya-Nāyaka ruler of Gingee,[2] (5) the great minister Vāraṇāsi-Varadappaṇṇa[3] (6) *Samayadrōharagaṇḍa* Pāpaya-Nāyaka, who built the temple of Madana-Gōpāla at Tañjāvūr (Tanjore), for the merit of Tirumalaiyamma,[4] (7) *Svāmidrōharagaṇḍa* Periya Rāmappa Nāyaka,[5] son of Goḷḷa(?)-Vasava-Nāyaka and (8) Daḷavāyi Timmarusayya, son of Sōmarusayya of Chandragiri and ruler of the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-śīma.[6]

On pp. 384 to 389 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* are given the names of eleven of " the two hundred captains " of Achyuta among whom according to Nuniz "the kingdom of Bisnaga was divided." Salvanay or Salvanayque who was the minister of the king at the time of Nuniz and possessed " very large territories bordering on Ceylon " has not been traced in Epigraphical records. In the last days of Kṛishṇarāya, however, there was a chief called Sāḷuva-Nāyaka who was ruling the Tiruvadi-śīrmai (South Arcot district).[7] But it is doubtful if the powerful brothers-in-law of Achyuta, allowed this provincial ruler of a small district, to rise to the position of a minister. The only other name which might perhaps correspond to Salvanay is Sāḷuva-Nāyaka, a contemporary of Achyuta in the Pāṇḍya country, who, with Tumbichchi-Nāyaka, had almost dispossessed the Pāṇḍya king of his throne. It is perhaps this Sāḷuva-Nāyaka who held at the beginning of Achyuta's reign, the place of minister, and being deprived of it by the king's brothers-in-law, tried to extend his hereditary estate so as to encroach upon the preserves of the Pāṇḍya.[8] The next chief mentioned by Nuniz is Ajaparcatimapa which form, probably, stands for Ayyaparasa Timmappa and means either Timmappa, son of Ayyaparasa, or Ayyaparasa surnamed Timmappa. Rāyasam Ayyaparasa is known from inscriptions to have been a son of Koṇḍamarasa and one of the king's *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* in Śaka 1452 (=A. D. 1530).[9] In the last days of Kṛishṇarāya this Ayyaparasa was appointed governor of Koṇḍavīḍu.[10] Ajaparcatimapa's charge, according to Nuniz, included Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu, and the way in which he is stated to have acquired it agrees with what Nuniz has related of the son of Codemerade (perhaps, Koṇḍamarasa). Crisnapanayque, whose division Aôsel has not been identified is, perhaps

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[1] No. 39 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.

[2] No. 244 of the collection for 1904. According to the *Chōladēśa-pūrvīkara-charitram* this same chief was perhaps also ruling over Trichinopoly and Tanjore (Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III., p. 296).

[3] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906, Appendix A, No. 10. He is also mentioned in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III., Tn. 120.

[4] No. 40 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897.

[5] No. 121 of the collection for 1908; in No. 271 of the collection for 1907 he is called Rāmappa-Nāyakkar without the affix *Periya*. In Śaka 1463 a certain Rāmappa-Nāyaka was in charge of the Kunrattūr-durga in the Salem district. It is doubtful if this chief is identical with the son of Goḷḷa Vasava-Nāyaka whose sphere of rule was further South.

[6] Nos. 302 and 303 of the collection for 1905. Sōmarusayya is, evidently, the same as the *upapradhāna* Sōmarsa mentioned on p. 183, above.

[7] Nos. 117 and 118 of the collection for 1897.

[8] On p. 185 above, note 1, I have suggested that the renegade Vira-Narasiṁharāya-Nāyaka, was probably the Salvanay (Sāḷuva-Nāyaka) of Nuniz.

[9] See above, p. 191.

[10] *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1476. Timmarasayya mentioned in D. 53 may have been the son of Ayyaparasa and identical with Ajaparcatimapa of Nuniz; but the relation as stated in the record is not quite clear.

the same as Kishṇama-Nāyaka mentioned in an inscription at Viriñchipuram (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I., No. 118). This is probably also the same chief who, as stated by Nuniz, committed suicide in order to escape Achyutā's cruel treatment.[1] Bommu-Nāyaka of Vēlūr and Veṅkaṭādri-Nāyaka are stated to have made some grants to the temple at Jambai (South Arcot district) with the permission of Vaiyappa-Nāyaka.[2] The first of these is, perhaps, to be identified with one of the Nāyakas of Vēlūr whose descendant Liṅga is mentioned in the Viḷāpāka grant of Veṅkaṭa I,[3] and the second, with Rāyasam Veṅkaṭādri, son of Timma and grandson of Mosalimaḍū-Virama, referred to in the Ūnamāñjēri plates of Achyuta.[4] A brother of this Veṅkaṭādri appears to have served as a feudatory of Achyuta's successor Sadāśiva.[5] Nuniz mentions also the kings of Bengapor (Baṅkāpūr), Gasopa (Gersappe), Becanor (Bārakūr), Calecu (Calicut) and Beṭecala (Bhaṭkaḷ) as being subordinate to Achyuta. No inscriptions of his are found among the numerous Vijayanagara records at Bārakūr. The Toḷachgūḍ (Bādāmi) epigraph, dated in Śaka 1455, establishes, however, his domain on the West Coast.

Before closing this account of Achyuta it may not be out of place to note that the Portuguese who were, apparently, staunch supporters and friends of the kingdom in the time of Kṛishṇarāya—perhaps under pressure—turned enemies on that sovereign's death and strengthened their position by every possible means.[6]

The latest date for Achyuta available from inscriptions is Śaka 1463 (=A.D. 1541-42).[7] His successor on the Vijayanagara throne was Sadāśivarāya, son of Raṅgarāya or Aḷiya-Raṅgarāya, a uterine brother of Achyuta.[8] Sadasivā's earliest sure record being dated in Śaka 1459, Hēviḷambi,[9] there is reason to suppose that he must have been chosen crown prince already in that year. But, from certain copper-plates we learn that Achyuta's immediate successor was his own son Veṅkaṭādri,[10] who ruled on the Vijayanagara throne for some time after Achyuta, and died to the great disappointment of the people. No historical confirmation, however, of this fact has yet been forthcoming from lithic or copper records that could definitely be ascribed to Veṅkaṭādri. Numerous epigraphs of Sadāśiva are current from and after Śaka 1459.

The account of Nuniz stops in the middle of Achyuta's reign.[11] Consequently we are left entirely to inscriptions and literature for our resources in putting together the events connected with Sadāśiva's rule. Firishtah's account, together

[1] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 369.

[2] Nos. 127 and 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 271. Siṇṇa-Bommu-Nāyaka of Vēlūr figures as a subordinate of Sadāśiva in Śaka 1497 (Prof. Kielhorn's *List* of *Southern Inscriptions*, No. 535).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 151. These plates disclose the name of another minister of Achyuta, named Virūpāksha-Nāyaka.

[5] No. 14 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904.

[6] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 177 f.

[7] No. 21 of the Epigraphical collection for 1900, dated in Kali 4642, Plava which corresponds to Śaka 1463.

[8] See Table on p. 3 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. Some of the Bhaṭkaḷ inscriptions state that Aḷiya-Raṅgarāya was a brother of Kṛishṇarāya, son of Īśvara-Nārasiṁha, and that Sadāśiva who was honored by Rāmarāja, was a son of this Aḷiya-Raṅgarāya.

[9] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906, Appendix A, No. 6.

[10] Above, p. 187, and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ng. 58, where Veṅkaṭādri is called Veṅkaṭarāya. See also *Ibid.* Vol. V., Hn. 7, and Vol. IX, Cp. 186; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 3.

[11] He does not refer to any historical events that happened subsequent to the capture of Nagallapor by Ydallcão.

with what could be obtained from other sources, has been included by Mr. Sewell in the last chapters of his *Forgotten Empire*. But this is exclusively devoted to the intrigues among the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan of that period and to their dealings with the Hindu potentate Rāmarāja, until the latter was killed in the battle of Tālikōṭa. Mr. Sewell admits there were disturbances at the capital on the death of Achyuta in 1542 but what is collated by him in the sequel, does not disclose whence the disturbances arose, and how Rāmarāja, suppressing all these, set on the Vijayanagara throne his brother-in-law Sadāśiva. He quotes Correa[1] who states that after the death of Achyuta a prince (the son of Achyuta) and his two uncles were assassinated, before Rāmarāja, the ruler of Paliacate and a brother-in-law of "the king that preceded the dead king," seized the throne of Vijayanagara and installed on it the puppet king Sadāśiva. There is no doubt that the two murdered uncles here spoken of, were the Salaka chiefs — the brothers-in-law of Achynta mentioned by Nuniz — who appear from what is stated above, to have been wielding much power during the lifetime of king Achyuta, and to have been the chief instruments in alienating the allegiance and sympathy of his feudatory chiefs. Rao Bahadur Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu states[2] that after the death of Kṛishṇarāya the Vijayanagara empire slowly began to disintegrate and petty Zamindars tried to strengthen their position. Of these the most prominent were the chiefs of Āravīḍu and Nandyāla who were related to each other and to the royal line by intermarriages.[3] Sadāśiva was young at the time when Achyuta died; and Salaka-Timmarājayya, the brother-in-law of Achyuta, attempting to usurp the kingdom, tried to confine in prison the two brothers Rāmarāja, son-in-law of Kṛishṇarāya and Tirumala, who were probably strongly opposed to the schemes of Salaka-Timma. Rāmarāja and Tirumala escaped to Penugoṇḍa[4] and there, gathering forces with the assistance of the other Hindu chiefs who, like themselves, were also displeased with the high-handed behaviour of Salaka-Timma, marched on Vijayanagara, captured and killed the Salaka chief and installed the young Sadāśiva in the kingdom. These events, though not expressly related in copper-plates or stone inscriptions,[5] appear to be true and agree with what is hinted at by the statement of copper plates that "Sadāśiva was anointed to the throne by his brother-in-law Rāmarāja and the other chief-ministers (of Vijayanagara)."[6] In the Telugu poem *Narapativijayamu* (otherwise called *Rāmarājīyamu*) mention is made of how Rāmarāja recovered Gutti, Penugoṇḍa, Gaṇḍikōṭa, Kandanūlu (Kurnool), Ādavēni (Adoni) and other fortresses from the chief Salaka-Timma, after killing him. He is also stated in the same poem to have fought with the Nizam and

[1] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 182.

[2] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 245.

[3] See the genealogical table at the end of this article.

[4] The Telugu poem *Vasucharitra* also states that "being disappointed with the changes which happened (subsequent to the death of Archyuta) in the matter of coronation, Rāmarāja followed by his two brothers went out (of Vijayanagara)."

[5] A greatly damaged inscription on the Garuḍa-*maṇḍapa* of the Chennakēśavasvāmin temple at Mārkāpur (No. 164 of 1905) gives a genealogy of the Karṇāṭa kings, in which it is stated of Rāmarāja that he "subdued in town Vidyānagarī (Vijayanagara), Timma 'who sinned against his lord' and the whole of the Salaka family and gave away the wealth of Karṇāṭa to the learned who sought his protection."

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 3 and footnote 2.

acquired from him the territory round Ahmedabad (perhaps Ahmedanagar).[1] Thus the Telugu poem confirms what Correa has stated. It may, therefore, be accepted as a fact that, after the demise of Achyuta, an attempt was made by Salaka-Timma to set his own nephew Veṅkaṭādri-Chikkarāya on the throne,—who as inscriptions say died young (being perhaps assassinated at the instance of his paternal uncle Raṅga)[2]—and that then, Salaka-Timma attempted to usurp the throne but was frustrated in his attempts by the powerful Rāmarāja and his two brothers. Whether these events happened after the death of Achyuta or during his lifetime, as Firishtah would have us believe,[3] we are not in a position to decide.

Rāmarāja, on all accounts, was the *de facto* ruler of the empire during the reign of Sadāśiva, though he and his two brothers still called themselves *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* and paid due homage to the puppet king.[4] Rāmarāja had under his command a large number of feudatories most of whom were connected with the royal family. With their aid he re-established the Vijayanagara power which had become weak during the feeble rule of Sadāśiva's predecessor Achyuta. Tiruvaḍi-rājya (*i.e.* Travancore) which was overrun by the Salaka chief Tirumalaidēva in the beginning of Achyuta's rule, appears to have rebelled. Consequently, prince Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhalarāja, whose full name appears in other records as Rāmarāja-Timmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva-Mahārāja, was deputed to reduce it[5] and perhaps also to rule over it subsequently.[6] A record from Kōvilaḍi (Tanjore district)[7] clearly describes this chief as a member of the Lunar race and the great grandson of Āravīḍu Bukkarāja. This latter fact is also stated in the Telugu poem *Bālabhāgavatamu* of Dōsūri Kōnērukavi.[8] The shorter form Rāmarāja-Viṭṭhaladēva-Mahārāja which occurs in his Tiruviḍaimarudūr inscription[9] is, consequently, to be explained not as Viṭṭhala *son* of Rāmarāja but as Viṭṭhala *grandson* of Rāmarāja. This suggests a possible custom prevalent in those days, that when grandsons could not be actually named after their grandfathers, they had at least that name prefixed to their proper name in order to keep up the time-honoured practice. Viṭṭhala was a powerful conqueror whose victorious "campaign commenced in Anantaśayanam (Trevandrum) in the south and ended at Mudugal in the north."[10] It is stated that he was in charge of the Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi-śīrmai[11] (Trichinopoly) under Sadāśivarāya and that an officer of his, in the South was a certain Aṇṇaṇ Basavaṇṇa-Nāyakkar[12] and his agent

[1] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 356.

[2] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 183, note 1.

[3] The events taken from Firishtah and recorded on pp. 168 to 171 of the *Forgotten Empire* are evidently much confused. In "Seo" Rāya there is a distinct reference to the usurper Sāḷuva Narasiṅga and "Heem" Rāja may be his minister Narasaṇa-Nāyaka (not Sāḷuva-Timma, as Briggs renders the name). Rāmarāja and "Hoje" Tirumala were contemporaries and must have belonged to the time of Sadāśiva. Of these the first was Aḷiya-Rāmarāja and the second is perhaps identical with Salaka-Timma. Firishtah in making Rāmarāja, son of "Heem" Rājah (Narasaṇa-Nāyaka) omits the reigns of Vīra-Narasiṁharāya, Kṛishṇarāya and Achyutarāya, which extended over a period of very nearly 40 years.

[4] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 179f.

[5] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900, paragraphs 78 to 81 and the *Report* for 1905, paragraph 34.

[6] Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 224.

[7] No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[8] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 241.

[9] No. 140 of the Epigraphical collection for 1895.

[10] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900, paragraph 80.

[11] No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[12] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1906, Appendix A. No. 6.

Rāmappa-Nāyaka.[1] Viṭṭhala's rule in the south was not of a temporary nature. He appears to have firmly established himself there. A Kēraḷa king, *Veṇṛu-maṇ-koṇḍa* Būtalavīra Irāmavaṇmar of Jētuṅga-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Viṭṭhala and is stated to have made grants for the merit of the prince on the latter's birthday.[2] From certain other records it also appears as if this Viṭṭhala had a son by name Timmadēva-Mahārāja who was ruling the Rāyadurga-sīma (Bellary District) under king Sadāśivarāya.[3] The Nandyāla *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* also claim, like Viṭṭhala, descent from Āravīḍu Bukka and figure very prominently in inscriptions[4]. So also do the chiefs mentioned in the British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya and others who were connected with the Āravīḍu family by intermarriages.

The most interesting point, however, which deserves notice, appears to be the warm patronage which these numerous feudatory chiefs afforded, each in his own sphere, to Telugu poets, thereby greatly advancing the cause of Telugu literature. Rāmarāja and his brothers were themselves accomplished scholars. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, wrote the *Srutirañjanī*, a commentary on Jayadēva's *Gītagōvinda*, and earned the name "a Bhōja in poetry."[5] He also accepted the dedication of the exquisite Telugu poem *Vasucharitra.*[6] The genealogical table at the end of this article will show that the Nandyāla chief Kṛishṇarāja, patronised Pingali Sūranna, that the poem *Sudakshiṇāpariṇayamu* was dedicated to Kōnēṭi-Rāmarāja and that the nephews of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, *viz.* Narasarāja, Gobbūri Narasarāja and Timmarāia were also patrons of Telugu literature, the last of them having had the honour of even composing the poem *Paramayōgivilāsamu.* Śrīvaishṇava religion, too, received an impetus unparalleled in its history, since the time of the great reformer Rāmānujāchārya. Alasāni-Peddana and his patron the great Kṛishṇarāya led the revival of this extremely catholic and unifying creed. The Vaishṇava teachers Tirumla Tātāchārya,[7] his grandson Siṅgarāchārya, Tirumala Śrīnivāsāchārya, Kandāḷa-Appalāchārya, Kandāḷa-Bhāvanāchārya, his son Śrīrangāchārya, Kanḍāḷa-Dēvarājāchārya and his son Appaṅgāru Tāḷḷapāka-Tirumalāchārya,[8] Paravastu Mummaḍi-Varadāchārya, Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa and others figure prominently as the preceptors of many of these chiefs and of the Telugu poets under their patronage. Achyuta's voluntary gifts are mostly found to be in favour of Vaishṇava temples. In later copper-plate grants Achyuta, is significantly reported,[9] after his death, to have found peaceful abode "in the Vaishṇava regions

[1] No. 129 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905. This record is dated in Śaka 1457, Parābhava. The cyclic year is wrong by 11 years.

[2] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900, paragraph 80. This Kēraḷa chief is again mentioned in a record at Maṇappaḍaivīḍu in the Tinnevelley District, but *not* as a subordinate of Viṭṭhala (*Annual Report* for 1910, paragraph 63).

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Mk. 4.

[4] See the genealogical table at the end of this article.

[5] *Annual Roport* on Epigraphy for 1898-99, p. 5 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 338, Text line 178.

[6] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, page 258. It is herein stated that *Bhaṭṭumūrti*, the author of the work, received the title Rāmarājabhūsahaṇa from having served first in the court of Rāmarāja and having dedicated to him "a number of Sanskrit and Telugu works."

[7] No. 6 of the Epigraphical collection for 1904, refers, perhaps, to the same teacher as Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya and suggests that he was a native of Owk which as stated already was the seat of a line of Pōḷegars who served under Vijayanagara kings. Tirumala Tātāchārya is perhaps the same as the family preceptor Tātayārya referred to in the Karnāṭa grants of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty; see *e.g. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 239.

[8] See above, p 191 and note 4.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 14, Text line 73 f, and Vol. IX, p. 330.

(above)." Sadāśiva appears to have been a more earnest Vaishṇava than his predecessor. His British Museum plates published in *Epigraphia Indica* (Volume IV, pp. 1 to 22) register a grant of 31 villages to the Vaishṇava institute at Perumbūdūr in which is installed an image of the famous Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānujāchārya. The prince at whose request this grant was made was Koṇḍarāja son of Kōnēṭayya. From other inscriptions we learn that this Koṇḍarāja's brother, Timmarāja, was also a Vaishṇava and a pupil of the teacher Kandāḷa-Śrīraṅgāchārya, son of Bhāvanāchārya.[1] Perhaps Koṇḍarāja, too, was one of the disciples of that teacher and the request he preferred to Rāmarāja to bestow the grant on the institute at Perumbūdūr, may have been at the instance of this Vaishṇava preceptor, Kandāḷa-Śrīraṅgāchārya. Epigraphical records of Sadāśiva in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampe (Vijayanagara) state that Koṇḍarāja's brother Timmarāja was otherwise called Udayagiri-Timmarāja, that he built for the merit of his father Kōnēṭayya a *maṇḍapa* for the swinging festival and made provision for the festivals called *Kaṇṇinuṇchiruttāmbu* and *Nūtandādi*, which were evidently so named after portions of the Vaishṇava scripture *Nālāyiraprabandham*.[2] Another Vaishṇava feudatory of Sadāśiva was the Kurichēḍu chief Śrīraṅgarāja, son of Ōbuḷarāja, who made a gift to the shrine of Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār in the same temple.[3] Kōnēṭayya's son Aubhaḷarāja of the Lunar race was still another who made a grant to the same Vaishṇava shrine.[4] Thus Vaishṇavism appears to have spread with gigantic strides among the ruling chiefs of the Telugu country in the last days of the Vijayanagara rule, and even to-day there is hardly a family of Telugu speaking Zamindars, which is not Śrīvaishṇava by faith.

To go back to the account of Rāmarāja, it will be enough in this article to state that the Karṇāṭa copper-plate grants of the Third Vijāyanagara dynasty invariably trace his descent to the Moon and mention among his famous ancestors Sōmidēva who took 'seven forts in a single day'; Pinnama, who was 'the lord of Āravīṭi'; Bukka who 'firmly established even the kingdom of Sāḷuva-Nṛisiṁha' and Rāma who 'took the fort of Avanigiri from Sapāda or Sapāta (*i.e.* Yūsuf Ādil Shāh ?) whose army consisted of seven thousand horse, drove away Kāsappoḍaya and captured the fort of Kandanavōli (Kurnool).'[5] To these military feats of Ramarāja's ancestors may be added what is stated in the *Narapativijayamu*, about the assistance which Rāmarāja's father Raṅga I rendered to Narasaṇa-Nāyāka (father of Kṛishṇarāya) in his attempts to revive the Karṇāṭa (*i.e.* Vijayanagara) empire:[6] "Raṅga's war-drums," it is stated, "were heard in the town of Vijāpura (Bījapūr); his forces destroyed the towns owned by the Nizam; his sword split the bodies of the Gōlakoṇḍa warriors; and his prowess brought back to life the dwindling power of the Karṇāṭa country." Of Rāma himself we learn enough from Firishtah and other Muhammadan historians. He afforded shelter to the Golconda prince

[1] No. 157 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.
[2] No. 13 of the collection for 1904 and No. 46 of 1889.
[3] No. 15 of ditto for 1904.
[4] No. 51 of ditto for 1889.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 238, and Vol. IV, p. 270, note 7.
[6] *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 356.

Ibrahīm Qutb Shāh against his cruel brother Jamshid,[1] and often interfered in the politics of the Muhammadan principalities of the Deccan, now favouring one party and now another, as best suited the interests of his own kingdom. Veṅkaṭādri, his brother, appears to have been the powerful general that won for him many a battle against the Muhammadans.[2] We are told also that in A. D. 1558 "Rāmaraja made an expedition to Mailāpur" against the Roman Catholic fathers "who had seized all the coast from Negapatam to San Thomé"; but did not disturb their peace.[3] In brief, Rāmarāja placed the Vijayanagara empire on its former basis as it used to be in the time of Kṛishṇarāya. Under Rāmarājā's régime, Sadāśivā's rule appears to have been a particularly benevolent one.[4] The barbers throughout the empire were exempted from taxes which, like others, they ordinarily had to pay; and under Rāmarāja's commands the subordinate chiefs extended this boon to the barbers in their several estates.[5] The Nandyāla chief Timmayadēva-Mahārāja remitted all taxes on villages owned by temples and Brāhmaṇās, throughout the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīma[6] and Yaragudi Tirumalayyadēva-Mahārāja, extended the concession to barbers in a village of Pulivindala-sīma (No. 381 of 1904). The Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane (Madras) was vastly improved in Śaka 1486, by a certain Dēśāntari Nārasiṅgadāsa.[7] Besides the chiefs connected with the Āraviḍu and the Nandyāla families, Sadāśiva's other feudatories were Chennādēvī, daughter of Dēvarasa-Oḍeya, who was ruling the whole of the Mangalore country with her capital at Bhaṭkaḷ, about Śaka 1468 (=A. D. 1546),[8] Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka of Madura, Komāra-Timmānāyaniṅgāru and his son Chinnapa-Nāyiniṅgāru of the Veligōṭi family and the Rēcharla-*gōtra* ruling the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa-sīma and the Kōcherlakōṭa-sīma in Śaka 1476 and 1491 respectively,[9] the Nāyakās of Vēlūr[10] and the Geṭṭi-Mudaliyars of Tāramaṅgalam,[11] Aḍappattu Mallappa-Nāyakkar,[12] *Svāmi*

[1] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 188. This Muhammadam king while stopping at Vijayanagara is stated to have cultivated a taste for Telugu poetry and to have patronised after succeeding to the throne a number of Telugu poets who dedicated their works to him; *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 253f.

[2] *Forgotten Empire*, p. 184.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 193.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Mk. 1 refers to "the righteous administration (*dharma-pārupatya*) of Aḷiya-Rāmaraja Mahāarasu."

[5] In a record from Hirēkērūr (Dharwar District), it is distinctly stated that *Svāmi-drōhraganḍa* Rāmayarājēndra-Mahāarasu (*i.e.* Aḷiya-Rāmarāja) was pleased with the proficiency of Timmōja, Hommōja and Bharrōja, in *gaḍḍada-kelasa* (*i e.* shaving the chin) and pardoned them from payment of all taxes. He then requested king Sadāśivarāya to extend the same privilege to the barbers throughout the kingdom. The chief Kṛishṇamarājayya exempted the barbers in Kōḍada-sīme, a sub-division of Raṭṭahaḷḷi-sīme, from paying taxes.

[6] No. 498 of the Epigraphical collection for 1906.

[7] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904, paragraph 25. The name of the god herein appears as Teḷḷiyaśiṅgapperumāḷ, as also in an earlier Pāṇḍya inscription from the same temple (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 291). Teḷḷiyaśiṅga occurs once in the Vaishṇava scripture *Nālāyiraprabandham* as the name of the god in the Pārthasārathisvāmin temple.

[8] This information is taken from an unpublished inscription at Bhaṭkaḷ.

[9] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909-10, p. 115 and No. 166 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

[10] No. 417 of 1905 and No. 63 of 1907. These mention respectively Śiṉṉa-Bommu-Nāyakkar of Vēlūr and Kalla-Bommu-Nāyakkar. The former figures in Tamil inscriptions from seven villages near Vellore, as a subordinate of Sadāśiva and Śriraṅgarāya II. (Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, Nos. 534 and 535).

[11] No. 27 of the collection for 1900. It is stated in this record that the country (between Muḷuvāy and Kuṉṟattūr was included in the estate of the agent Taṇḍu Pāvappayyaṉ. In the time of Achyuta, Kuṉṟattūr-durga was governed by a certain Rāmappa-Nāyaka, whose feudatories were the [Geṭṭi]-Mudaliyārs of Vaḍa-Pūvaṇ-nāḍu.

[12] No. 240 of 1904.

Aḍappattu Sūrappa-Nāyakkar[1] and Aḍappattu Kṛishṇama-Nāyakkar,[2] Achyutappa-Nāyakkar-Ayyaṉ[3] and Rāmarāja-Veṅkaṭādridēva-Mahāraja.[4]

The memorable battle of Tālitkōṭa and the causes which led to it are well known. The longstanding, though smouldering, enmity which the Muhammadan principalities ever entertained for Vijayanagara, kindled into a flame when opportunely it was found possible for them to enter into a coalition to uproot the Hindu Raj. Rāmarāja fell in that battle. Vijayanagara was pitilessly devastated by the victorious Muhammadan soldiers, and Tirumala the surviving brother, is stated to have some time after usurped the reins of sovereignty, changing his capital at the same time, to Penugoṇḍa. Thus must have come into existence the Karṇāṭa or the Third Vijayanagara dynasty[5] which for another half a century or more, sustained the semblance of Hindu rule till finally it was reduced to insignificance in the growing political intrigues between the European traders, the ambitious Nizam, and the relentless Muhammadan usurpers of the Mysore throne. Epigraphical references to the battle of Tālikōṭa and subsequent history are very limited. The only two records that mention the event come from the Chitaldroog district.[6] Both are dated in Śaka 1490 (=A.D. 1568) and appear to state that Rāmarāja fell in the cause of the country (?), in consequence of which "the town (*i. e.* Vijayanagara), the throne, the empire, the districts and all were despoiled and ruined," and that afterwards the prosperous Tirumalarājayyadēva-Mahāarasu restored to a certain chief, his *jāghīr* which had also evidently suffered on account of the Muhammadan conquest. This Tirumalarājayya is identical with the brother of Rāmarāja and is known from a lithic record to have been ruling the Kochcharlakōṭa-sīma in Śaka 1474 (=A.D. 1552) during the lifetime of his brother Rāmarāja.[7] Evidently he should have stepped into his brother's place immediately after the latter's death. The latest date for Sadāśiva available from inscriptions is Śaka 1508 (=A.D. 1586).[8] This takes us to the reign of Veṅkaṭa I. between whom and Sadāśiva, we have to accommodate at least for the reign of Raṅga II.[9] It is, consequently, doubtful if the Bārakūr record which supplies the date Śaka 1508 for Sadāśiva, is to be accepted as correct.

[1] No. 240 of 1904 and No. 104 of 1906.

[2] No. 104 of 1906. There were two chiefs of the name Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka serving under Sadāśiva. One was *Haḍapadaḷa* (Aḍappattu) Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka (Nos. 521 and 523 of Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*) and the other, Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka son of Bayappa-Nāyaka (No. 528 of the same *List*). Kṛishṇamarājayya, mentioned in the Hirēkērūr inscription quoted on p. 198 above, note 5, is probably identical with *Haḍapadaḷa* Kṛishṇappa-Nāyaka.

[3] No. 567 of the collection for 1902.

[4] No. 256 of 1894. This chief who was, evidently, governing the country round Tiruvaiyāṛu (Tanjore district) seems to have been connected with the royal family. Perhaps he was the Karṇāṭa chief Veṅkaṭādri, the younger brother of Aḷiya-Rāmarāja.

[5] This will be the subject of the third and the last instalment of this article to be contributed to the Archæological Survey Report. The circumstances under which the Third dynasty came into existence will be discussed in detail in that contribution.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Hk. Nos. 6 and 7. One of the two records appears to state that it was for the sake of the Muhammadans that Rāmarāja died. The other has the reading *turuttu* which Mr. Rice corrects into *Tulukkara* as in the other and interprets it in the same way. If this is to be believed, the cause for Rāmarāja's death appears to have been a plot, of which he was not aware.

[7] No. 156 of the epigraphical collection for 1905. He made also grants to the teacher Dharmaśivāchārya at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (North Arcot district) in Śaka 1484, as a subordinate of Sadāśiva (No. 476 of 1905) and in Śaka 1493, as an independent sovereign (No. 497 of 1905). He permitted Śiṇṇa-Bommu-Nāyaka of Vēlūr to make grants to the temple at Vellore in Śaka 1488 (*South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. I., p. 69) and the Veligōṭi chief Chinnapa-Nāyiniṅgāru to assign taxes to the temple at Mārkāpūr, in Śaka 1491 (No. 166 of 1905).

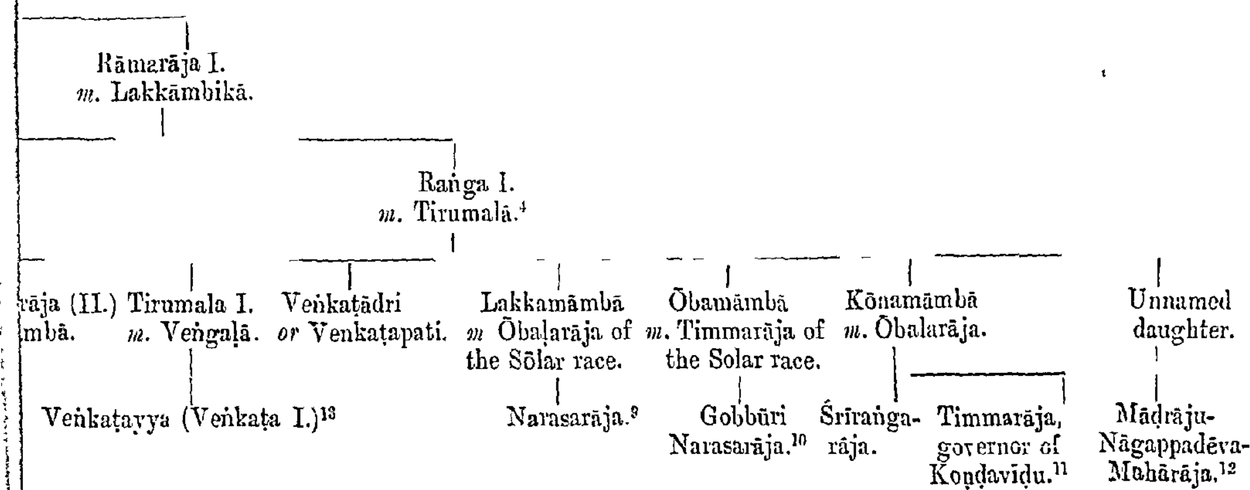
[8] No. 140 of the Epigraphical collection for 1901.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, Table facing p. 238.

I close this article with a genealogical table showing the relation which the numerous Vijayanagara subordinates who flourished during the time of Sadāśiva bore to the family of Āravīḍu to which also belonged Rāmarāja and his successors, distinguished as kings of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty and sometimes, also, as Karṇāṭa kings. I have based this on the information supplied by the Telugu works noticed in Mr. Vīrēśaliṅgam Pantulu's "Lives of Telugu Poets" and on what I could gather from inscriptions. The main family of Āravīḍu itself is not represented on the Table, beyond the three brothers Rāma II, Tirumala I and Veṅkaṭādri, since this has been given on the Table facing p. 238 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III.

KRISHNA SASTRI.

ayanagara dynasty.



yyadēva (and *not* of Nārāparāja as may be inferred from the *Kaḷāpūrṇōdayamu*), I have presumed that Aubhaḷarāja and Nārapaiāja

243). His brother China-Timma called Rāmarāju-Chinna-Timmayadēva-Mahārāja, in inscriptions (No. 246 of 1904 and Nos. 33

-Mahārāja is mentioned in No. 348 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

ja (Koṇḍarāja) mentioned also in the British Museum plates of Sadāśiva and No. 47 of 1889, to Śrīraṅgayyadēva (Raṅgarāja).

r Anantarāja and great grandfather Siddhanṛipati. Timmarāja was the author of *Paramayōgivilāsamu* (*Lives of Telugu Poets*, p.

1889). A chief connected with the first family was, perhaps, Timmarāja who was the son of Vallabharāja and grandson of the

kaṭa I. (Table facing p. 238 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III.)

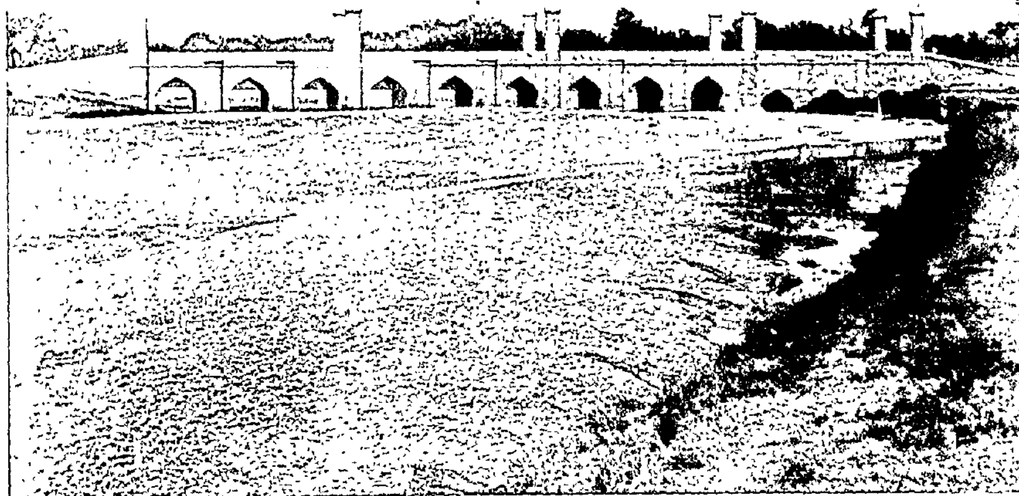


Fig. 1. Modern bridge over the Bāṛa stream.

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN PĒSHĀWAR CITY.

IN the city of Pēshāwar there is a small mosque in a back street of the Qiṣṣakhānī Bāzār. It is somewhat out of the way and unfrequented. One day I happened to enter the enclosure, and on looking round the unpretentious building, I caught sight of an inscribed stone built up in a niche of the façade. Only the uppermost portion of it could be read, and it was شاہ جہان بادشاہ غازی "Shāh-jahān the King and Champion of the Faith." The lower part of the slab, which as a whole measures 28″ by 36″, was scarcely discernible owing to the fact of its being evenly plastered over with lime, and as often as the wall had been whitewashed it had also received its due share of coating.

It was clear that a good deal of cleaning was necessary before any attempt at decipherment could be made. I met with some resistance from the Mullā who said that the result of my work might injuriously affect his interests, but I succeeded in talking him out of his fears. He yielded, and allowed me to prepare an impression which could be read and understood.

The stone is in fair condition, but the left hand side which, as stated above, was exposed and stuck out of the masonry when first found, is not quite as smooth as the right hand side, which was covered. Also the upper left hand corner is cracked, but the broken portion contains only one letter, the ه of the word بنیاه

The writing is carved in the surface of the slab and not raised as it usually is in Muhammadan inscriptions. The characters are of the *nasta'līq* type and neatly cut. The language is metrical Persian with the exception of the last two lines in which prose is employed.

Text.

شاه جهان بادشاه غازي

بقاع خیر عالی کرد بنیاه	لشکرخان	بحمدالله که از فضل الهي
که مثلش مادر ایام کم زاد		محب اهل دل عبدالطیف آنکه
الهي تاجهان باشد بماناد		پلي بنیاد کرد اندر پشاور
بگفتا خیر جاري باد آباد		پئ تاریخ اتمامش مهندس

درعهد سلطنت حضرت ظل سبحاني صاحبقران ثاني و ایام حکومت نواب باهتمام بندهٔ رب
ودود داود بن ابو محمد قریشي میمنت اتمام یافت

Translation.

" Shāh-jahān the King and Champion of the Faith. Praise be to God through whose Grace buildings of great charity were founded by that friend of the generous 'Abdu-l-Latīf, whose like the world[1] has seldom produced. He built a bridge in Pēshāwar. Oh God, as long as the world endures, may it remain. For the date of its completion the mathematician said :—' May this charitable work ever endure and prosper.'

In the reign of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the second Lord of the happy Conjunction, and (in) the days of the rule of Nawāb Lashkar Khān, under the management of the slave of the God of love, Dāūd, the son of Abū Muḥammad Quraishī it received the blessing of completion."

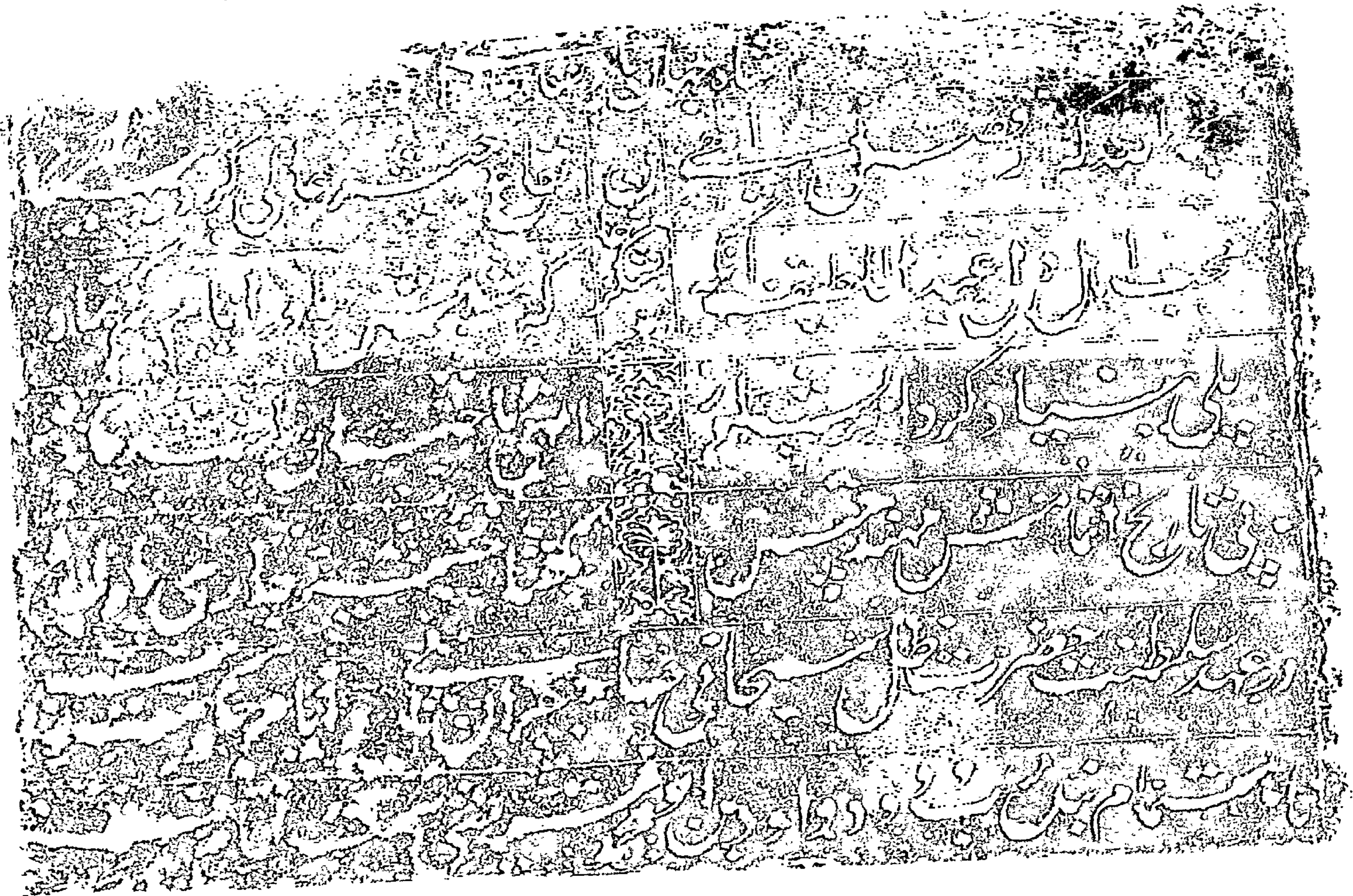
The date which is contained in the chronogram *Khair-i-jārī bād ābād* according to the Abjad computation, works out to be 1039 A. H. (=1629 A.D.), being the third year of Shāhjahān's reign.

How this inscribed slab found its way into the obscure mosque is explained by the Mullā, who says that it was acquired from the ruins of a bridge over the Bāṛa stream on the Grand Trunk Road about three miles east of Pēshāwar city, and fixed up in its present position by his grandfather who built the mosque about fifty years ago. It may be assumed that these are the remains of the bridge whose construction is recorded in the inscription.

Besides the name of Shāh-jahān, the inscription records the names of three personages, Lashkar Khān, the Mughal Governor of the time, 'Abdu-l-Latīf the founder of the bridge, and Dāūd the architect. It may be noted that the name of Lashkar Khān occupies the place of honour in the epigraph, being engraved imme-

[1] *Lit.* ' mother of days ' cf. *mādar-i-bāgh*.

PERSIAN INSCRIPTION FROM PESHAWAR.



diately below that of the King, beyond and above the other two names. That the latter are no longer traceable, is not strange. The reign of Shāh-jahān as a whole is described by Wheeler[1] as "obscure," and 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf and Dāūd the architect naturally enough share in this obscurity. The construction of bridges, temples, wells and inns from motives of charity has been common in the East at all periods, and such structures were most needed along the Royal Road of Shēr Shāh of which Pēshāwar was the terminus. The building of a bridge over the Bāṛa would be no extraordinary thing, and it is no wonder, therefore, that both the founder and the builder of this particular one are now forgotten.

But the same cannot be said of Lashkar Khān. He is locally known as the successor of Mahābat Khān and the predecessor of 'Alī Mardān Khān, both famous governors whose memory has been immortalised by their public buildings in various places.[2] Lashkar Khān cannot boast of a similar claim to fame, but his name is mentioned in a list of officials in the Shāh-jahān Nāmah, by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Lāhōrī, in which he is stated to have been a *Panjhazārī* or commander of five thousand soldiers. His name is not, so far as I am aware, associated with any local monument.

WASI-UD-DIN.

Postscript.—Mr. W. Irvine has favoured me with the following note :—

"The *Maāthiru-l-umarā* contains the lives of three Lashkar Khāns :—

1st. Lashkar Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusain Khurāsānī (*op. cit.* III, 161).

He died in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574) and is thus too early to be the man wanted. His death took place in Bengal and he does not seem to have had anything to do with Kābul, the Panjāb or Kashmīr.

2nd. Lashkar Khān, Abū-l-Ḥasan Mashhadī (*op. cit.* III, 163).

After Jahāngīr's accession (A.D. 1605) he was made Lashkar Khān and acted a long time as Dīwān and Bakhshī of Kābul. Recalled to court he was sent to subdue the Afghāns in the passes. When Jahāngīr started for his first visit to Kashmīr, Lashkar Khān was put in charge of Delhi. Appointed to serve under Prince Parwēz and Mahābat Khān in pursuit of Prince Khurram (Shāh-jahān) he reached Burhānpur and was taken prisoner by Malik 'Anbar and sent to Daulatābād. Released on Shāh-jahān's accession, Lashkar Khān received ten lakhs of rupees and was promoted to be *Panjhazārī*. Appointed to Kābul in place of Khwāja Abū-l-Ḥasan Turbatī, he repelled an attack of Naẓar Muḥammad Khān of Balkh in A.H. 1038. He was removed in the 4th year of Shāh-jahān, *i.e.* between 1st Jamādu-th-thānī 1040 A.H. and 30th Jamādu-l-awwal 1041 A.H. In the 5th year of Shāh-jahān, *i.e.* between 1st Jamādu-th-thānī 1041 A.H. and 30th Jamādu-l-awwal 1042 A.H. he succeeded Mahābat Khān as governor of Delhi. He resigned his office and retired in the 6th year of Shāh-jahān, *i.e.* between 1st Jamādu-th-thānī 1042 A.H. and 30th Jamādu-l-awwal 1043 A.H.

After performing the Ḥajj, he proceeded to his home Mashhad in Persia, bought property there, became one of the floor-sweepers at the shrine and died there.

[1] *Short history of India*, p. 153.

[2] A bridge over the river Surkhāb between Qandahār and Pēshāwar was built by 'Alī Mardān Khān in the reign of Shāh-jahān in A. H. 1051. Cf. Beale, *Miftāḥu-t-Tawārīkh*, p. 307.

3rd. Lashkar Khān, known as Jān-Nithār Khān (*op. cit.* III, 168).

His name was Yādgar Bēg, son of Zabardast Khān, a trooper in the bodyguard of Shāh-jahān, while a prince. In the 19th year of Shāh-jahān he was made a commander of 1,000, 200 horse and appointed Dāroghah of macebearers. He was promoted by 500 in the same year and made Jān Nithār Khān.

On Shāh Safī's death (1642 A. D.) Jān Nithar Khān was sent by Shāh-jahān to congratulate Shāh 'Abbās II and to make excuses for 'Alī Mardān Khān. Jān Nithār Khān returned to India in the end of the 21st year of Shāh-jahān's reign (1648 A. D.) He was created a commander of 2,000 and 700 horse and to be Master of the Horse. In the 23rd year he became Mīr Tūzak (Chamberlain), in the 24th year Second Bakhshī and in the 25th year (circa A. D. 1652) was promoted and made Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year he was again promoted and appointed Bakhshī of Prince Dārā Shukōh, then leading a campaign against Qandahār. In the 27th year he was recalled from Multān and made Second Bakhshī again *vice* Irādat Khān. In the 29th year he was suspected of embezzlement, removed and reduced, but subsequently sent against the rebels near Ḥiṣār (Firūzah and Bikanēr). In the 31st year of Shāh-jahān's reign on the death of 'Alī Mardān Khān, he was made ūbahdār of Kashmīr and promoted. He submitted to 'Ālamgīr, was promoted and sent to govern Multān. In the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr, he replaced Qubād Khān at Thatta and was subsequently sent to Bihār.[1] In the 11th year of 'Ālamgīr he was removed from Bihār and appointed to Multān *vice* Ṭāhir Khān. In the 13th year of 'Ālamgīr he was recalled to Court, made First Bakhshī *vice* Dānishmand Khān deceased, and promoted to 5,000 (3,000) horse. He died in the end of the same year, *viz.* A. H. 1081."

Mr. Irvine points out that the Nawāb mentioned in the inscription must be the second Lashkar Khān who at that time was Governor of Kābul.--[Ed.]

[1] Cf. Bernier, *Voyages* I,249 and Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* I, 362.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS PUBLISHED UNDER OFFICIAL AUTHORITY.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—[1]		
Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1869.
Report in connection with operations in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, etc., for 1869-70.	Lieutenant H. H. Cole .	1870.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume I. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1871.
Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Volume II. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Volume III. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1873.
Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of Upper India.	H. H. Cole, Lieutenant, R.E., late Superintendent, Archæological Survey, North-Western Provinces.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S. W., 1873.
"Tree and Serpent Worship" from the sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati.	James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S.	Ditto.
Report for the year 1871-72, Delhi and Agra, Volume IV. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar and A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistants, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1874.

[1] The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India) which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in this list.
The reports of the New Imperial Series, which began in 1874 and are still in progress, are marked (N. I. S.)

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report of the first season's operations in the Belgâm and Kaladgi districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1874.
The Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I.	Rájendralála Mitra . .	Wyman & Co., Calcutta, 1875.
Report for the year 1872-73, Volume V. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of india.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1875.
Report on the antiquities of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1876.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Volume I, Inscriptions of Asoka.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1877.
The Rock Temples of Elura or Verul.	J. Burgess . . .	1877.
Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government, Western India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1878.
Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72; and 1872-73, Volume VI. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1878.
Report of a tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in the Central Provinces, 1873-74, Volume VII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report of a tour through the Bengal Provinces of Patna, Gaya, Mongir, and Bhagalpur; The Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Birbhum, Bankura, Raniganj, Bardwan and Hughli in 1872-73, Volume VIII. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
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The Stûpa of Bharhut; a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures, illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B. C.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1879.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
Report of tours in Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1879.
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Report of tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77, Volume, X. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1880.
Report of tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875-76 and 1877-78, Volume XI. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report on the Amarâvati tope and excavations on its site in 1877.	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, London, 1880.
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The Cave Temples of India . .	J. Fergusson and J. Burgess	W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, London, S.W., 1880.
First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1881-82.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1882.
Report of tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76, Volume XIII. (C. S.)	J. D. Beglar, Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1882.
Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Volume XIV. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Bihar and Bengal in 1879-80 from Patna to Sunargaon, Volume XV. (C. S.)	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (N. I. S.)	R. Sewell, Madras Civil Service.	Government Press, Madras, 1882.
Preliminary reports by Curator, Ancient Monuments in India.	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
(*a*) Madras Presidency—		
The Seven Pagodas . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*a*) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
Velur	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Trichinopoly	Ditto	Ditto.
Srirangam	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Kombakonam	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Chillambaram	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Conjeveram	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Bijapur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*e*) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
Kalburgan	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
INDIA—*contd.*		
(*f*) Punjab—		
(Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusafzai, with a description of the explorations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and suggestions for the disposal of the sculptures.)	H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India.	Government Central Branch Press, Simla, 1881 to 1883.
Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year 1882-83.	Ditto . . .	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Reports of tours in North and South Bihar in 1880-81, Volume XVI. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India, and H. B. W. Garrick, Assistant Archæological Survey.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1883.
Preservation of National Monuments—Fortress Gwalior.	J. B. Keith, Superintending Monumental Preservation.	Ditto.
Catalogue and Hand-Book of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Part I—Asoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries.	J. Anderson, Superintendent, Indian Museum.	Ditto.
Ditto ditto, Part II—Gupta and Inscription Galleries.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report of a tour in Gorakpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77, Volume XVIII. (C. S.)	A. C. L. Carlleyle, 1st Assistant, Archæological Survey.	Ditto.
Report on the Elura cave temples and the other Brahmanical and Jaina caves in Western India. (N. I. S.)	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government for Western and Southern India.	Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., Edinburgh and London, 1883.
Report of a tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82, Volume XVII. (C. S.)	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1884.
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(*b*) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Delhi	Ditto .	Ditto.
(*d*) Græco-Buddhist sculptures from Yusufzai.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*e*) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*f*) Meywar	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*g*) Buildings of the Punjab .	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*h*) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
(*j*) The temples at Trichinopoly	Ditto . .	Ditto.
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Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
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Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto . . .	Ditto 1894.
Ditto for the year ending June 1895.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending June 1897.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending June 1898.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending June 1899.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S., and E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1900.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, United Provinces, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	......	Government Press, United Provinces, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	E. B. S. Shepherd, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Suveyor, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	W. H. Nicholls, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto	Ditto 1905
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1906.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
UNITED PROVINCES—*concld.*		
Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906-07.	W.H. Nicholls, Archæological Surveyor.	Government Press, United Provinces, 1907.
Ditto for the year 1907-08.	R. F. Tucker, Archæological Surveyor.	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto for the year 1908-09.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1909.
List of Christian tombs and monuments of archæological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.
The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S.	Ditto.
Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London.
Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Poorno Chander Mukherji .	Thomason College Press, Roorkee, 1899.
Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
PUNJAB—		
Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	......	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey.	......
Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.	J. L. Kipling, Curator .	1889.
Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archæological Survey, 1888-89.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	W. Ball & Co., Lahore, 1891.
List of inscriptions in the Lahore Museum.	Dr. M. A. Stein . . .	1899.

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PUNJAB—*concld.*		
Revised list of objects of Archæological interest in the Punjab.	C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor.	Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.
Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.
Annual progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Punjab Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1903.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1904.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1905.	Ditto . .	Economical Press, Lahore, 1905.
Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Ditto .	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
N.-W. F. PROVINCE—		
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamalgarhi during the months of March and April 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 12th February 1874.)	Lieut. A. Crompton, R.E. .	1874.
Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Kharkai during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)	Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E. .	1874.
Report on the exploration of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bai Yusafzai, during the months of January, February, March and April 1871. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 6th August 1874.)	Sergeant F. H. Wilcher, R.E.	1874.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
N.-W. F. Province—*concld.*		
Report on the explorations at mound Shahji-ka-dheri near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875.)	Lieut. C. A. Crompton, R.E.	1875.
Report on the explorations at Taikal near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)	Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E. .	1876.
Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E. .	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
Memorandum on excavations at Sikri, Yusafzai.	Capt. H. A. Deane, Assistant Commissioner.	Punjab Government Press, Lahore, 1889.
Detailed report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force.	Dr. M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.	Ditto, 1898.
Report of Archæological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the period from January 2nd, 1904, to March 31st, 1905.	M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Inspector General of Education and Archæological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	Government Press, North-West Frontier Province, 1905.
Annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1906-07.	Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle.	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto for 1907-08 . .	Ditto . .	Commercial Press, Peshawar, 1908.
Ditto for 1908-09 . .	Ditto . .	Government Press, North-West Frontier Province, 1909.
Burma—		
List of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1880.
Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—		
I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1883.
II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvarnabhumi.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1884.
List of objects of Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*contd.*		
Reports on Archæological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review, dated 18th June 1889.)	Dr. E. Forchhammer . .	1889.
The Po U Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
List of objects of antiquarian interest in Burma.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1892.
Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions . .	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin, and Pegu Districts.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Note on a tour in Burma in March and April 1892.	F. O. Oertel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.
Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1893.
A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinbyuyin, 1774 A.D.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma).	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality, Burma.	Ditto, 1894.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
BURMA—*concld.*		
Some remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government, Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1897.
Inscriptions of Pogan, Pinya and Ava. Translation with notes.	Ditto . .	Ditto 1899.
Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto, 1900—1903.
Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum. Vol I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Report on Archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03 . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, for the year 1903-04 . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, for the year 1904-05 . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Ditto, 1906.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1909.
MYSORE AND COORG—		
Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Coorg Inscriptions	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press, and date of publication.
Mysore and Coorg—*concld.*		
Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore	Mysore Government Press, 1889.
Epigraphia Carnatica—Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto, Part II	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kadur District.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	Ditto . .	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Simoga District, Parts I and II.	Ditto . .	Ditto 1902.
Ditto, Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug district.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1903.
Inscriptions at Tumkur . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Inscriptions at Kolar . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Assam—		
Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
List of archæological remains in the Provinces of Assam.	......	Ditto, 1902.

List of Public Libraries, etc., to which copies of the Director General's Annual Report, Part II, are regularly supplied.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA.

United Kingdom.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

London University Library, Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

Edinburgh „ „ Edinburgh.

Glasgow „ „ Glasgow.

Aberdeen „ „ Aberdeen.

Trinity College Library, Dublin.

Folklore Society, 11, Old Square Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.

National Art Library, South Kensington Museum, London.

Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, W.

Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The Royal „ Windsor Castle, Berks.

Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London.

Royal Society, Edinburgh.

Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.

National Library of Ireland, Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albermarle Street, London.

Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street. Edinburgh.

Imperial Institute, London.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3, Hanover Street, W., London.

France.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Institute de France, Paris.

Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iena, Paris.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*contd.*

Germany.

Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.

Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.

Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.

Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenchaftēn zu Göttingen, Göttingen.

Austria.

Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

Hungarian Academy, Buda-Pesth.

Italy.

Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele Rome

R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

The Società Asiatica Italiana Firenze.

British School at Rome.

American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

Other Countries in Europe.

Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.

Royal Institute of Netherlands, India, The Hague, Holland.

Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.

Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.

University Library, Upsala, Sweden.

„ „ Christiania, Norway.

British School at Athens, Greece.

La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

America.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn, U.S.A.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

British Colonies.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Melbourne Library, Melbourne.

University Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.

North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.

Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur del'Ecole français d'extreme Orient, Hanoi.

Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.

Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Caire, Egypt.

Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

(1) IMPERIAL.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

*Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

(2) PROVINCIAL.

MADRAS.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.

University „ Madras.

Public „ „

Presidency College „

School of Art, „

Government Central Museum, Madras.

Christian College Library „

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.

University „ „

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

School of Art, Bombay.

The College of Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.

Presidency College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.

University „ Allahabad.

Public Library, Allahabad.

Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.

Sanskrit College, Benares.

Thomason College, Roorkee.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

PUNJAB.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.

Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

Museum Library, Lahore.

University Library, Lahore.

Government College Library, Lahore.

Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.

Museum Library, Peshawar.

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.

The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.

The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.

Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor-General, Indore.

The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.

Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajmer.

College Library, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.